

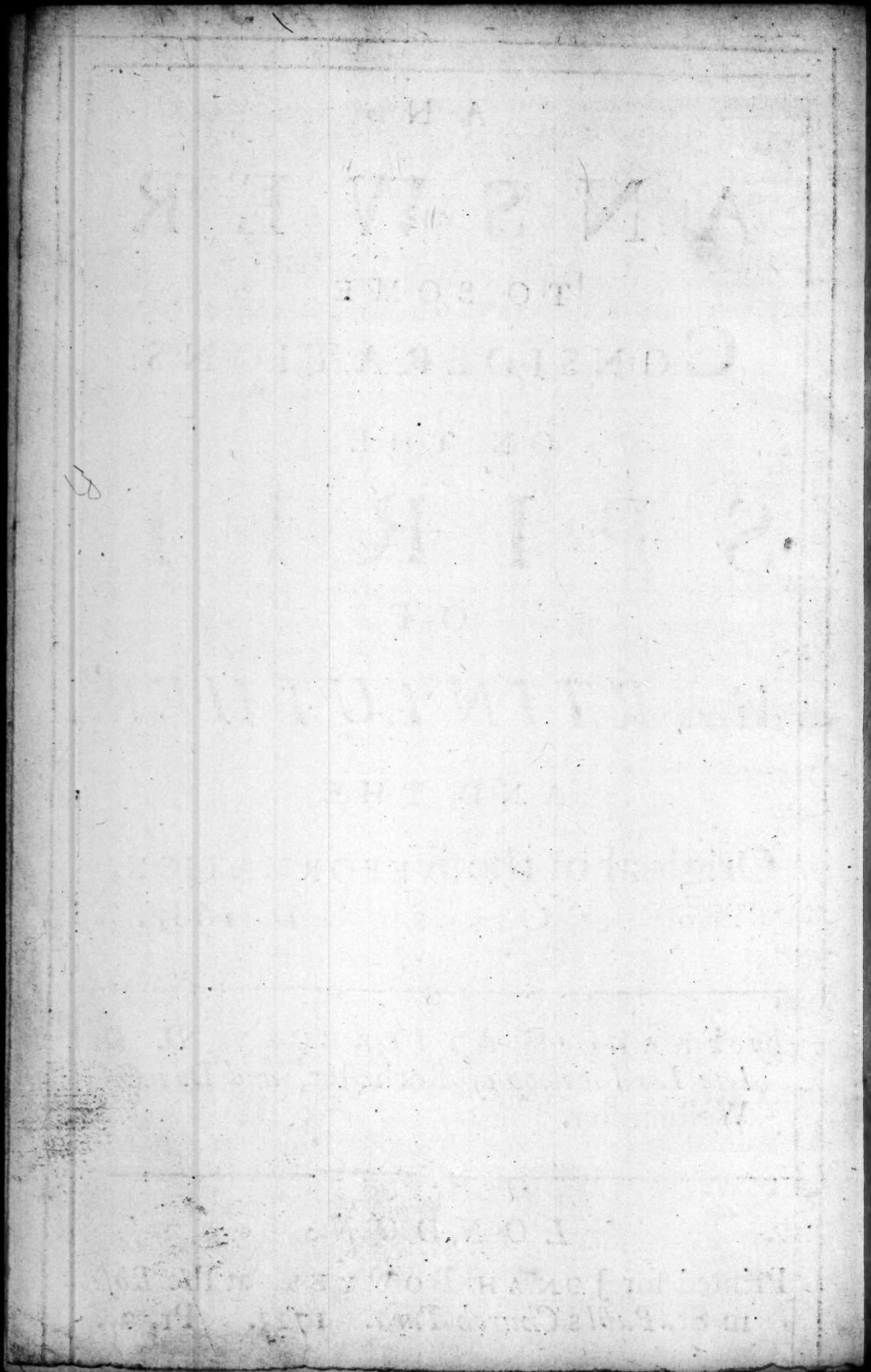
A N .  
ANSWER  
TO SOME  
CONSIDERATIONS  
ON THE  
SPIRIT  
OF  
*MARTIN LUTHER,*  
AND THE  
Original of the REFORMATION;  
Printed at OXFORD, A.D. 1687.

---

By FRANCIS ATTENBURY, D. D.  
late Lord Bishop of Rochester, and Dean of  
Westminster.

---

LONDON:  
Printed for JONAH BOWYER, at the Rose,  
in St. Paul's Church-Yard. 1723. Pr. 2s.





T H E  
P R E F A C E.

**W**HEN I first happened upon this Pamphlet, and by some peculiar Beauties in the Style, easily discover'd its Owner, I was, I must confess, not a little surpriz'd: I could not have imagin'd that a Man of so big a Reputation as the Author of the Guide in Controversy; One, whose Thoughts had for some Years convers'd with nothing less than Oecumenical Councils, Popes and Patriarchs, should quit all those fine Amusements for the humble Task of Life-writing, and drawing of Characters. 'Twas a mean Prey, I thought, for

## The P R E F A C E.

a Bird of his Pounces : and the Design he did it with, made it ten times more a Riddle. The Doctrines of the Reformation have, for near two Centuries, kept the Field, against all Encounterers : And does he think they may be foil'd at last by two or three little Remarks upon the Life and Actions of a single Reformer ? But it looks like a Jest, when the Irregularities committed by Luther in Germany, are turn'd upon Us here in England : As if any thing that He said, or did, could affect a Church establish'd upon its own bottom, and as independent on any foreign Authorities, as the Crown her Defender wears. Luther's Voice is indeed to Us, what our <sup>2</sup> Author terms it, The Voice of the Stranger ; and though we are always ready to wipe off the unjust Aspersions cast upon him by his Enemies, yet this is what we are oblig'd to, not as Sons, but as Friends. Whenever injur'd Virtue is set upon, every honest Man is con-

## The PREFACE.

cern'd in the Quarrel. But these last Attacks have been so very feeble, that had we for once trusted the Cause to its own Strength, 'twould have suffer'd but little Damage. And I, for my part, should have done so, did I not know there were a sort of Men in the World, who have the Vanity to think every thing on their side unanswerable, that does not receive a Sett Reply; though at the same time they are pleas'd to answer nothing themselves. They fight indeed all of 'em like Tartars; make a bold and furious Onset, and if that does not do, they retreat in Disorder, and you never hear of 'em afterwards. And this, I expect, will be the present case. The Editor of these Considerations won't much care for replying, I believe; because that must be de proprio, and can't be drawn from the old Store of Provisions laid in by the Fraternity. But whether the Poysons were of an earlier mixture, and design'd, like Italian Preparations, to work now at a distance, or whether later temper'd, is

## The P R E F A C E.

a thing we may safely be ignorant of; as long as we are secure of the Antidote, before they take their Effect. And this the Theatre-Press thinks her self engag'd to promise: considering from Whose Municifcence she had her Birth, and especially to Whom she ows her Lustre; a late Prelate, of a remarkable Zeal for the establish'd Church; and who, were Religions to be try'd by Lives, would have liv'd down the Pope, and the whole Consistory. If the Services she does now are not of the most deserving Character, 'tis what the Meanness of the Opposer, and a worn-out Cause will bear: She has already produc'd the strongest Arguments against Popery, Fathers, and Bibles. The present Attempt is confin'd perfectly within the Bounds of an Answer; and pretends to nothing more than a bare Pursuit of the Author Step by Step; and the laying open his Blunders, for the Reader's ease; just in the same Order they ly. There was nothing frightful in this Task, but the Toil of being forc'd to think

so long upon so very thoughtless a Writer: in all other respects 'twas as easy as one would wish. The History-part lay within a little room; and the Reasonings upon it were so thin, that they needed only setting in the Light, to be look'd through. In both, my greatest Helps have been drawn from one single Author, the Considerer himself: who in every Book of his has made it appear, that he can write Contradictions, as well as believe 'em. This small Performance had seen the Light much sooner, but that it waited the Edition of another Piece, which should regularly have prevented it. But the Gentleman employ'd on that occasion having not yet had all the Leisure he expected, 'twas thought fit rather to send this abroad, out of its due place, than to stay till every Body had forgotten the Book it answers: a Misfortune, which I fear, it has already in a great measure undergone. In the Defence of our Reformation, to come, 'twill be found, that the Considerer is no good Historian; the Replyer  
has

## The PREFACE.

has prov'd him no good Catholick ; the Animadverter no good Subject ; and all together no good Disputant ; so that I have now no new side left, to entertain the Reader with. What he is after all this, no body knows ; 'tis much easier to guess, what, under another Revolution, he will be.

*Just Publish'd,*

S E R M O N S and Discourses on several Subjects and Occasions. By *Francis Atterbury*, late Lord Bishop of Rochester, and Dean of Westminster. In two Vol. 8vo. Pr. 10 s.

N. B. The Second Volume may be had alone, to compleat the former Edition of his Lordship's Sermons. Pr. Stitch'd, 3 s. Likewise may be had alone,

— A Sermon preach'd before Queen Anne, on the Death of Prince George. Pr. 3d. or 20 s. per Hundred.

The Defence of *Francis*, Lord Bishop of Rochester, at the Bar of the House of Lords, on Thursday the 9th, and Saturday the 11th Days of May, 1723. against the Bill then depending for inflicting Pains and Penalties on him. By *W. Wynne*, Esq; one of his Lordship's Counsel. Pr. 1 s. 6 d.



*A N S W E R*

TO

*Considerations, &c.*



*ART IN* Luther's Life  
was a continual *Warfare* ;  
he was engag'd against  
the united forces of the  
Papal world, and he  
stood the Shock of them  
bravely both with Courage, and Success.  
After his Death, one would have expected,  
that generous Adversaries should have put  
up their Pens, and quitted at least so much  
of the Quarrel as was Personal. But on  
the contrary, when his Doctrines grew too  
strong to be shook by his Enemies, they

A persecute

persecuted his Reputation ; and by the venom of their tongues sufficiently convinced the world, that the Religion, they were of, allow'd not only *Prayers* for the Dead, but even *Curses* too. Among the rest, that have engag'd in this unmanly design, *our Author* appears: not indeed after the blustering rate of some of the party, but with a more calm and better dissembled malice: He has charg'd his Instrument of Revenge with a sort of White Powder, that does the same base action, tho' with less noise. 'Tis cruel thus to interrupt the Peace of the Dead; and *Luther's Spirit* has reason to expostulate with *this Man*, as once the *Spirit of Samuel* did with *Saul* — *Why hast thou disquieted me to bring me up?* He knows the sequel of the story: the answer that was given was no very pleasing one; it only afforded the Enquirer an account of his own *Discomfiture*. Let us see whether this *Disturber of Luther's Ashes* will have any better fortune.

Ecclus.  
 46. 20.  
 I Sam.  
 28. 15.

The first thing we are presented with, is a double Character of *the Good, and Evil Spirit*, set out by those *Works or Properties*,

*Properties*, which are said to attend each of 'em in Scripture. And by this *Test* 'tis that *Luther's Spirit* is to be try'd. Consid.

For----- so often as the Teachers of new and strange Doctrines come into the World, professing opposition to those receiv'd by our present superiors, and to the common Tenents of the Church, Christians are directed by St. John c. 4. v. 1. to try such Spirits, whether they are of God. And we are instructed by our Lord, Mat. 7. v. 16. that they shall know and discern them by their Fruits. The inference from hence is, that *Luther's Doctrine* should be try'd by his Works. Now, tho' we are very willing to stand to this *Test*, yet nothing hitherto said can any ways engage us to it. For here is a manifest violence offer'd to two places of Scripture: by leaving out the preceding verse in one, and the subsequent in t'other, he has quite perverted the meaning of both. St. John says, Beloved, believe 1. John. not every Spirit, but try the Spirits whe-4. 1. ther they be of God. How shall we try them? the next verse instructs us. Here-Ib. v. 2. by know ye the Spirit of God; every Spirit

that confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the Flesh, is of God. Nothing can be plainer than that the Apostle here would have new Teachers prov'd, by the conformity their doctrine bore to that he had deliver'd. But this was not for our Author's purpose to observe; and therefore He drop'd the latter part of the Quotation, which would have expounded the former, and slipt over to St. Matthew's

*Mat. 7. 16. Ye shall know them by their Fruits.*

*Ibid. v. Whom? Consult the foregoing words.*

*17. Beware of false Prophets, which come to you in Sheeps clothing, but inwardly they are ravening Wolves.* The caution here given is against such as come in Sheeps clothing, that is, in all outward innocence and meekness (as our learned Paraphraſt expounds it \*) Ye shall know them by their Fruits: not by their well or ill living ſure, for they are ſuppos'd to put on the Vizard of ſeeming sanctity: but by the doctrines, which as ſoon as they

\*Nor is this merely a Protestant Exposition. *Lucas Brugensis*, upon the place, ſays. *Induti speciem ovium disque nefiam simplicitatem.* And *Maldonate*, much to my purpose. *Sensus est facilis: Vestimenta vocat quicquid extrinsecus appetet, Verba & Opera, Eleemosynas, nomiaque officia charitatis.*

have got any authority with you, they will endeavour to infuse into you [ id. ibid.] Thus are the two Texts, which should be the Basis of the whole discourse, prov'd directly contrary to the design of it, and naturally leading us to the examination of particular doctrines according to a receiv'd standard; the thing which our Adversaries so studiously avoid. But Scripture-proof was never the Talent of these men, and 'tis no wonder they are foyl'd, when they fight us at our own weapon. Yet in these places, the sense offers it self so easily, and that shuffling way in which they are propos'd, looks so like a Trick, that we can't but question our Author's sincerity: and shall therefore be the less concern'd, when, in the Progress of these Papers, we find him mangling and putting a wry sense upon our Protestant Writers, since 'tis but what he has done to the inspir'd Penmen themselves. But to drive this point further, whether Works ought to be the adequate measure of Doctrines? I say, not only that he *has not* prov'd it by any authorities drawn from Scripture,  
but

but that it is impossible he ever *should*. For Scripture cannot be against Scripture: Now we have frequent instances in Holy Writ, where God Almighty has made bad men the Instruments and Promoters of a good Doctrine; such indeed, whose actions were not agreeable to what they *taught*. So *Balaam* was a Diviner, yet *the Spirit of the Lord came upon him*, and he prophesied of the coming of *Christ*. *Jebu*, tho' otherwise none of the Holiest men, was yet employ'd by God in that grand Reformation of his, when the whole Land of *Israel* was over run with *Baalism*. A Case so parallel to this we are upon, that one would wonder it should never be taken notice of in the whole course of the Painphlet, did we not know some men's Talent lay in *dissimbling* things, when *speaking out* won't be for *their turn*. I ask him again, if the *Jews* should have contrasted thus with *Hosea*; that his message could not come from God, since his works were not answerable: he  
*Hos. 1. 2.* had taken a Wife of Whoredoms to him,  
*Hos. 3. 1.* and lov'd another that was an **Adulteress**  
 or should a *Ninevite* have disputed the  
 miffion

mission of *Jonas*, because he was a wicked person, and had been thrown into the Sea to appease a tempest, would this kind of Plea have held against the Prophets? If not, why is it urg'd against *Luther*? Or why are Scripture-Maxims put upon us, without taking notice of Scripture-Examples, that lye cross 'em? He has not offer'd any thing from the Fathers upon this occasion, and therefore we may take it for granted, they are Ours. Indeed, to instance in no more, St. *Austin*<sup>a</sup> is express upon the point. Nay the greatest of their own party, even the two pillars of the Romish faith, *Bellarmin*<sup>b</sup> and *Baronius*<sup>c</sup> are in this case as much Protestants as we are. But he himself has given

<sup>a</sup> Ne objiciatis hæreticis, nisi quia non sunt Catholici: ne similes iis sitis, qui non habendo quod in causa suæ divisionis defendant, non nisi hominum crimina colligere affectant; & ea ipsa plura falsissima jastant, ut quia ipsum divinæ Scripturæ veritatem criminari & obscurare non possunt, homines per quos prædicatur adducant in odium, de quibus & singere quicquid in mentem venerit possunt. August. Ep. 137.

<sup>b</sup> Certum est ex ipsorum hominum, qui nos doceat, operibus, non posse cognosci doctrinam, cum opera interna non videantur, externa autem sint communia utrisque &c. Bellarm. de grat. & lib. arb. L. 5. c. 10.

<sup>c</sup> Ignarum Vulgus; dum non ex sacris literis, quas ignorat, sed ex vita exemplo definire soleat Catholica dogmata. Baron. Annal. Tom. 7. An. 526. n. 58.

up the Cause p. 98. He there in broad words confesses, that *a teacher of Truth may bring forth the fruits of a bad life.* And if so, I would ask him, why he writ his Book?

And here the Business seems to be at an end. For if no proof has been brought, why a good Doctrine should always require good outward works to support it: and yet it be the whole drift of the Pamphlet, to bring *Luther's* preaching to such a scrutiny, 'tis all built on a false foundation, and, when that's weakened, must drop of course. But because we are pretty well assur'd of *Luther's Morals* too, we'll be so obliging as to give up what has been already said, and put the Cause upon that Issue: tho' his Life does not in the least concern the Church of *England*. In order to this, let us take the prescrib'd method, and *put our selves in a posture now, as we should have been in, had we liv'd at the first appearance of Luther.* And since the Properties of the Evil Spirit are reducible to Two. 1. *Fleshy Lusts.* 2. *Contention and Disobedience,* (as One, whose knowledge in this case

Confid.  
p. 2.

case we shall not question, has inform'd us) let us see, whether after our most impartial researches, we in those circumstances could have fix'd either of these blots upon him.

I. As to *Fleshly Lusts*, there is no one action through the whole course of *Luther's* life, that can possibly come under that Character, but only his Match with *Bora*. Now this hapned not till 1525, and in 1517 *Luther* had began to Reform: so that, should I put my self into that *posture* the Considerer desires, yet here would be nothing for my Observation to lay hold of for above eight years together. *Fleshly Lusts* therefore could have given me no prejudice against *Luther's* Doctrine, when it first appeared, since his very Adversaries do not till long after that time charge 'em upon him. Yes; but we are told, that he preach'd a-pag. 20, gainst the Vow of Continence long before he married. Now tho' it be something improper, to call preaching an A&t of *Fleshly Lust*, and give me that to try his Doctrine by, which is indeed a piece of the Doctrine it self; yet neither did

*Luther* let fall a syllable against these Vows for several years after his first setting out. So that had I liv'd in the dawn of the Reformation, and made all those Observations I am desir'd to do, I can as yet see no reason, why I should not have been *Luther's* Profelyte. And thus much will serve to free *Luther* from Incontinence, as far as the method propos'd reaches: the Breach of Vow, and Marriage it self shall be more largely discours'd of in their proper places.

2. The other Head of the Charge is *Contention and Disobedience*. And here again I am invited to consider, whether *Luther* was not in an high manner guilty of these? and, if so, whether a wise man that had liv'd in those days, could have had any reason to follow so unruly a Guide? Now the Question here is not *whether Luther* disobey'd? for that's confess: but *when* and *in what manner* he did it. For if upon enquiry it be found, that for near three years together he treated his Adversaries with all mildness, and paid a just deference to all his Superiors; if he threw not off their Authority, while

while there was any hope left of doing things in a regular way, and mingled no gall in his expressions till after all the venomous mouths in *Europe* had been open'd upon him, how can he with any colour of reason be term'd *contentious* or *disobedient*? And that this was his case any impartial man that reads the joint accounts of *Sleidan*, *Soave*, *Melancthon*, and *Melchior Adamus*, must needs acknowledge. 'Tis a known story that he first stood up against the gross abuse of pecuniary Pardons : he propos'd his sentiments about it in a mild Scholastic way, and invited all that should think themselves strong enough to a fair disputation. This Challenge was not thought fit to be accepted of: but *Thecel* the spreader of the Pardons answered him an easier way, by branding him with Heresy, and denouncing Anathemas against him from all the Pulpits in *Saxony*<sup>a</sup>. This did not heat him; he went on calmly, representing the case in a letter to the Arch-Bishop of *Mentz*<sup>b</sup>, and afterwards

<sup>a</sup> Melch. Ad. Vit. Luth. <sup>b</sup> It begins thus. Pardon the boldness to approach your highness with a Letter. &c. Luth. Op. T. 1. I the meanest of men have p. 92.

in two inpre to the Bishop of *Brandenburg*,  
 in whose Dioceſes the ſcene lay: all  
 written with ſo deep an humility, that  
 one would ſay, the impreſſions he took  
 from his Vow of Obedience were then  
 ſtrong upon him<sup>a</sup>. *I am well content,*  
 (ſays he) *I had rather obey, than even,*  
*if I could, to do miracles.* This ſubmiſ-  
 ſive way of repreſenting things he con-  
 tinu'd afterwards in ſeveral Letters to  
 the Pope, though he knew *Leo* had form'd  
 a design againſt his Life<sup>b</sup>, and taken Fryar  
*Hogofrat's* advice, to confute his Doctrine  
 by fire and fagot<sup>c</sup>. Upon the *Legat's*  
 summons, he ſubmitted himſelf to an  
 Examination, and appear'd before him;  
 and tho' *Cajetan* us'd him very courſely  
 in the Conference<sup>d</sup>, yet no unbecoming  
 word came from him<sup>e</sup>. At laſt, when  
 for a long time he had employed all the  
 moſt inoffenſive methods; and instead of  
 the Redress he expected from *Rome*, found  
 his Books burnt there, himſelf condemn'd  
 without an hearing, and his Adverſaries

<sup>a</sup> Tom. 1, Op. p. 99.  
 Edit. Wittenb. 1582.

<sup>b</sup> Sleid. Com. L.2. ad An.  
 1519.

<sup>c</sup> Soave p. 2. Ed. Lond.  
 1620. <sup>d</sup> Id. p. 8.

<sup>e</sup> See the Account of this  
 Conf, in 1. Tom. Op.

*Eckius* and *Prierias* supported in all the Ribaldry of Language, that their passions could suggest, he then, and not 'till then, first chang'd his note, and put on a greater freedom of Expression. Before this time, he strove with no man, but in the spirit of meekness, and threw off no Authorities that he had engag'd himself to obey<sup>2</sup>. But the *Pope* had now declar'd his judgment by a fresh Bull, and own'd the Cause: so he was forc'd to decline his censure, and appeal to a *Council*. Thus are the earliest actions of *Luther* in no wise chargeable with contumacy; and I believe that part of the first Volume of his Works, which contains whatever he wrote in his two leading Years, will, tho' sifted by an Enemy, hardly afford, throughout, one single indecency.

I might here again very justly drop this Answer: for since the drift of his book is already evacuated, what need I pursue him thro' all it's particulars? He advis'd me to *put my self in the same*

<sup>2</sup> Hear an Enemy confess it. In ipsis hujus Tragædiæ initiis visus est Lutherus etiam plerisque viris gravibus & eruditis non pessimis zelo moveri, planeque nihil spectare aliud quam Ecclesiæ Reformationem. Surius Comment. ad Ann. 1517.

posture I should have been in, had I liv'd at Luther's FIRST APPEARANCE: I have done so, and find that this first appearance of his has nothing hideous or frightful in it: the Posture, he put me in, has prov'd flatly against his design: for it represents *Luther* under the Image of an holy and bumble person, with nothing of *Fleſhy Lust*, or *disobedience* about him. But because I find the bulk of his Book employed upon the latter passages of *Luther's* life, I am tempted to think that by *first appearance*, he might mean *last appearance*; and shall therefore (after I have desired him to consider to what trouble his *odd way of expression* has put me) follow him even in that sense too; confronting his Accusations Paragraph by Paragraph, as they lye in order. And perhaps, by that time this is done, it will appear, that he meant, neither *first* nor *last appearance*; but just *nothing at all*.

The thing promis'd was to set out some of *Luther's Works* or *Fruits*, that by them we might pass sentence upon his *Doctrines*: let us see how he *performs*. He entertains us first with a Preamble about the holiness

holiness of *Martin L.* life, while a Monk; in such obliging terms, that for a page or two, you'd think him *on our side*: but 'tis only a piece of his address, a small civility before he opens his business: in return to't therefore *I am his humble Servant*, and so (if he pleases) we'll come to the Point.

We find him then §. 3. and 5. crying *εύπνηστα*: he has *discover'd the main root of the Reformation*: the first wheel it seems, which set all the rest a work, was a new Doctrine that *Martin*, while a Monk, embrac'd, of *Justification by Faith alone*. Now 'twill be found I believe, when this is look'd into, that he has *discover'd* just nothing but the depth of his own understanding. For

*1st.* I would ask him, whether this new Doctrine of Justification be one of those Works which *L.* Faith is to be try'd by? if not, why are we amus'd with it here for a dozen pages together? was he serious when he propos'd a method, which he quits now the first step he advances? But admit the pertinence of the remark, I am sure we have a great deal of reason to question

question the *Truth* of it. For tho' we are not at all concern'd, where L. first took up the opinion, yet

2dly, How is it prov'd, that he *embrac'd it while in the Monastery*? why, by express assertions of his Doctrine, in Treatises of his, written ten years after he came *out* on't. A fine *discovery* indeed! and every ways befitting a man of my Author's Sagacity! Now should I turn this way of reasoning upon him, and prove from what he *now* writes, he must needs have been a *Papist 20 years ago*, he would not, I believe, admit the argument, because there is a scurvy inference hanging to it. Nay,

3dly, He is so far from fixing the time when this *new Doctrine* was first hatch'd, that he has not prov'd the Doctrine it self to be *new*: tho', he attempts it §. 6. by citing a decision of the Council of *Trent's*, together with *Bellarmin* and *Cassander's* authorities. But I would have him remember, that the Epocha of that Doctrine, he calls *new*, does by his own accompt run at least 30 years higher than the oldest of these: so that L. is brought in guilty of *Novellism*, as *Strafford* was of *Treason*,  
by

by a Law made after the fact was done. Now to urge the *suppos'd perpetuity of their Faith* for the validity of this instance, is to urge a thing, which Protestants deny: and therefore any argument grounded upon that maxim can be nothing but a childish *petitio Principii*, a fault which his own *Logie* whips him for. Should I insist upon every failure of this nature, I must write Volumes; for there is never a step made without a stumble. 'Twill be more material to observe, that

*4thly*, He has not dealt fairly with L<sup>o</sup>' Doctrine in this point; insinuating all along, that it falls in with the *Solifidian*, and *Fiduciary Errors*: but he wrongs him infinitely; for an hundred instances might be brought from his writings, where the necessity of good works in order to Salvation is display'd. But instead of that, I shall leave him to be confuted by Bellarmine's confession<sup>a</sup>; or if he won't take his word, by his own, p. 16. where he allows L<sup>o</sup>. faith to be such, as when true, has always good works joyn'd with it. L.

<sup>a</sup> Lutherus docet aliquo fidem non esse, quæ non modo necessaria esse bona parit bona opera. De Justif. opera, cum affirmet veram L. 4. C. 1.

teaches indeed, that *fides sola justificat*, but not *solitaria*; that *faith alone* justifies, but not the *Faith that is alone*: Good Works are inseparable attendants upon this justifying Faith, but they contribute nothing to the *act* of Justification: they *make* not just, but are always with them that are *made* so. This is L<sup>s</sup>. was the C. of Rome's<sup>a</sup>, and is now the C. of England's Doctrine: if he'll be pleas'd to attacque it as such, it shall not want a Defender. As to his Quotations on this occasion, they are, (as at other times) very trifling. To pursue every particular of 'em, would be nauseous and unnecessary: one general Remarque, that I shall leave with the Reader, will lead him into the sense of 'em all. L. wrote against a sort of Men that held *good works* to be meritorious, and *rely'd* on 'em, as of themselves *satisfactory*, without a particular application of faith: this was the Doctrine (or at least the practice) of the cloyster; and this L. through all his Writings encounters: so that wherever he puts a slight upon good works, 'tis as they stand distinct from

<sup>a</sup> Vide Tho. Aqu. Leq. 4. in Gal. 3.

Faith, under the notion that superstitious zeal had then cloath'd 'em with <sup>a</sup>. I will not say that in the prosecution of this he never went awry, he did so in reviving that doubt, which was some time in the primitive Church, of St. James's Epistle being Canonical, because he thought it ran counter to St. Paul: but he withdrew this plea of his, when better inform'd; if quoting from it afterwards, as from Scripture, be owning its Authority. 'Tis plain his followers think so: the most rigid of whom, and who in every punctilio would be thought like Luther, do yet retain this Epistle in the Canon. Indeed in the 1<sup>st</sup>. Edition of his German Bible he calls it *Straminea*; not absolutely, but in comparison with those of St. Paul. But in all the Editions after 1526. 'tis left out:

*a* Thus when he had said *Contritio quæ paratur per discussionem, collectionem, & detestationem peccati, &c. facit hypocritam.* Assert. Art. 6. he expounds himself afterwards by telling you, that the contrition he's talking of, is *naturalis, impia & extra fidem.* When he tells you (Assert. Art. 11.) *Crede fortiter te absolu-tum, & absolutus vere eris,* quicquid sit de contritione. What is meant by these last words, is not whether you are contrite or no, as his fly interpreter has it, but without respect to your contrition, i. e. the contrition you so much rely upon, as the article it self when propounded intire, and the paraphrase upon it, sufficiently evidence. And so of the rest.

and the *arida*, the Pamphlet talk's of, is in none of 'em at all. The objection drawn from his calling St. Paul Evangelist in preference to *Matthew*, *Mark*, and *Luke*, is ridiculous, for he there tells you what he means by *Evangelists*, viz. such as preach the glad tidings of that *comfortable Doctrine* (as our Articles term it) of Justification by Faith alone: and in this sense he says *you may more properly say the Gospel of St. Paul, than of Matthew, &c.* And what is there so heinous in this expression? 'Tis low ebb sure with his Accuser, when such Peccadillos as these are put in to swell the Charge. But the grand Article is to come. *L.* (he says) *was so strangely affected with this new invention,* (he means justifying Faith,) *that he made bold much to prefer the Mahometan life as to good manners, before the Christian.* Now had *L.* spoke up to this accusation, yet *Chrysostom's* example would have been his defence. For he says the very same thing in almost the same terms, of the Christians in his time, compar'd with the Pagans<sup>a</sup>. But *L.* has indeed said no such

<sup>a</sup> Chrysost. Op. Imp. in Math. hom. 49.

thing.

thing. In the place cited he compares *Mahometans* and *Papists* as to the austeries of living; but 'tis far from his principles to say *all good life and practice* consists in these strictnesses<sup>a</sup>. He only urges that if it were so, then the one would lay as fair a claim to it as the other. For the proof of this he vouches the testimony of a Papist, one us'd barbarously by 'em in a slavery of 11 years continuance; and who had therefore no great reason to favour 'em. The Considerer here gives him the Lye, and says no such thing is to be found in that *Relation*. I shall not return the Compliment, but desire the Reader to look at the bottom of the page<sup>b</sup>, and he'll be

*a Christiana Religio longe aliud est, & sublimius aliquid, quam Ceremoniae speciosæ, Rasura, Cucullus, Pallor vultus, Jejunia, Horæ Canonicae, & universa illa facies Ecclesiæ Romanae per orbem.* Luth. Præf. in Tract. de Turcismo.

*b Chap. the 14th, of the Relation* I find these words *In ista specie religionis inventiunt aliquid tantæ perfectiōis, ut impassibiles sint, ut nibil exterioris impressionis sentire valeant: nam in maximis frigoribus nudato corpore incedunt, & non sentiunt. Iti sua probationis rationes & veritatem ostendunt in variis stigmatibus combustionum, & cicatricibus incisionum, &c.*

A living witness of good credit has confirm'd this account. He says the Turks have their Monks, and those of different Orders, the *Dervices*, the *Kadri*, the *Nimitubali*, the *Edhemi*, and twenty more. These live under as great austeries as *Capuchins*, or *Carmelites*: they go barefoot, use corporal penance, have frequent Pilgrimages, and take some of 'em the three Vows of Continence, Poverty, and Obedience. Ryc. pr. st. of the Ott. Emp. p. 138. &c.

pretty

pretty well satisfy'd of my Author's modesty. This innocent reflexion gives occasion for one of the wildest inferences that ever was made. He is condemn'd immediately as preferring Turcism to Christianity, the Alchoran to the Bible, and *Mahomet* to *Christ*. With this false scent my Author runs away at full cry; proves manifestly to you, that the Christian Religion is the most holy of all Religions; and after he has heated his imagination to an high pitch of zeal, concludes with a *Deus tibi imperet, the L<sup>d</sup>. rebuke thee.* His fancy, it seems, has made a Giant of a Windmill, and he's now engaging it: I shall slip away in the mean time, and when he has spent his fury, meet him at the 10th Paragraph.

S. 7.

For so far we must go before any new matter offers it self. His reflexions between are so very mean, that a bare recital confutes them. *L<sup>c</sup>. Doctrine* (he says) *is since detested by many judicious Protestants.* If you ask him how he knew it, he'll tell you *Hammond* and *Thorndike* wrote against the *Solifidians*, and *Luther* himself (one of those judicious Protestants) confess'd,

confess'd, that some wrested what he taught to their own destruction. *It is as s.*

*Doctrine void of Consolation*, because some men think they have this Faith, when they have it not, and so are betray'd into a fatal security. This is such stuff as no patience can digest. But *L. pursu'd this notion so far, as to hold a parity of honor in all justify'd.* He did so, as to the act of Justification it self, and so must all do that hold it gratuitous: but not as to the degrees of Sanctification afterwards. The honor of Knighthood is the same in all upon whom the Prince confers it: but some Knights may live up to their characters better than others, and so possess a larger share in the Prince's favour. What little amusements these are for so mighty a man in Controversy to sport himself withall? He might e'en as well have employ'd his time (as the Author of a Book of Education says some Princes have done) *Educ. p. in the frivolous and low delights of catch-<sup>13.</sup>ing Moles, haltering Frogs, bunting Mice with humble-bees, making Lanterns, Tin-derboxes, and such like Manufacture.*

*July 16. 1710. 1000. 1000. Come  
Riford*

§. 10.

Come we now to the second Branch of L<sup>s</sup>. Accusation, his *vilifying Religious Vows, Penance, &c.* Agen I must ask him, is this a *work* to try the *Doctrine* by, or rather a part of the *Doctrine* that is to be try'd? If *Works* are to decide the goodness or badness of L<sup>s</sup>. cause, according to what was first propos'd, why are these speculative points preposterously put upon us? But if our Author, in spite of his own design, is resolv'd to give us a list of his *Doctrines*, with what colour of reason can that about *Indulgences* be slipp'd over? 'Twas the main Article that made the breach, as all their own writers confess; and does it not deserve a mention? But we deal with a man that understands very well the ordering of his scenes. This business of *Indulgences* is too gross to be touch'd upon, 'twould leave ill impressions upon the Reader's mind; and therefore he passes it over just as *Mezeray* and the French Writers do the battle of *Cressy*. It cannot be shewn so much as in *Profile*, no light will make it look lovely. Here is a fair occasion given to supply the defects of my Author's story, and shew to what beastly

beastly uses Indulgences were then put, and upon how brave an occasion it was, that L. first appear'd: but because the whole voice of Germany in the *Centum Gravamina*<sup>a</sup>, and the *Trent-Council* it self<sup>b</sup> has done it to my hands, 'twill be perhaps a needless trouble. I go on to see what L. has said in disparagement of *Penance, Vows, &c.*

As to the first of these, *Penance*, and what falls under it in all that heap of Quotations which he has pil'd up Paragr. the 10<sup>th</sup>, nothing is aim'd at but the *superstitious, and meritorious use* of it: and this all Protestants as well as L. decry. When he's pleas'd to urge any thing in it's favour, 'twill be time to think of our reasons. In the mean while he's resolv'd, I find, by such dry tedious accompts, to force his Reader upon the *Practice* of *Penance*, where he is not able to recommend the *Doctrine* of it. He hath a long passage out of the *Colloquia* where L. deter's men from solitarynes: From indulging themselves in a strange affected retirement, he does not from a sober solitude,

<sup>a</sup> Grav. 31.

<sup>b</sup> Sess. 25 Decret. de Indulg.

that rallies our scatter'd strengths, and prepares us against any new encounters from without: for this he both taught and practis'd. He has indeed said nothing there, which St. *Bernard* did not say 500 years ago of some who in pursuit of greater sanctity withdrew themselves into desarts, *such*, says he, *are tempted by the Devil, and in the end, by sad experience find the truth of that saying, Wo unto him that is alone! for if he falleth, he bath none to help him.* But a shorter Answer may be given to this and all other places taken from the *Colloquia mensalia*. 'Tis a book not receiv'd yet into the Canon by the Learned: It depends purely on the credit of one *Van-Sparr*, that tells a blind story of his finding it in the ruines of an old house many years after *L.* and *Aurifaber* the pretended compiler was dead: but should it be genuine, yet no fair adversary would urge *loose table talk* against a man in controversy, and build serious inferences upon what perhaps was spoken but in jest.

*a Dæmon ille meridianus & cognoverunt &c. Rem Eremum petere persuasit; in Cant. Serm. 33.*

*global ob jects. Read Vows*

*2517*

*Vows* and *Celibacy* are the next points he goes upon. The latter of these makes an intire Treatise of it self, and is the Task of another hand, to which I refer the Reader, that desires a fuller satisfaction; and shall only make a reflection or two *en passant*. L. recommended *matrimony*, he §. 11. n. 2. did well, I hope, to follow so good a Guide as St. Paul: Yes, but in preference to *Celibacy*: now this, I say, is a piece of my Author's mendacity: for in that very place that he has recourse to, for the proof of this assertion, these words are plainly read. *Sicubi conjugium quis cum cælibatu conferat, præstantius certe donum est cælibatus.* With what tolerable ingenuity could he pass this over unmention'd? Yet in spite of L. declaration in the case, he will it seems prove the Tenet upon him. He urges that place, where L. says, that properly speaking the state of the Religious §. 11. n. 6. Orders is mundane, and that of Matrimony Spiritual. He does so, but he says more too; for the very next words are, *De istis autem Ordinibus & Religiosis loquor, qui eo nomine hactenus sese & nominari &*

<sup>a</sup> Comm. in 1 Cor. 7. 6.

*jactari perpeſſi ſunt.* He affirms not abſolutely that Marriage is the more Spiritual state, but in comparison with Celibacy as then practis'd in the Church of Rome: where it was commonly *forc'd*, taken up under *a bold vow<sup>b</sup>*, thought *meritorious<sup>c</sup>*, and led in all *uncleanness<sup>d</sup>*. And in this ſenſe it was that he ſaid, *Matrimonium velut eſſe aurum, ſpiritualem vero ſtatum ut ſtercus*; for to the objection made immediately upon this, *What then muſt none live unmarried?* he anſwers, *e I am now talking not of Celibacy iſelf, but of the Spiritual state (as they term it) two as diſferent things, as can well be imagin'd.* Again when he expounds that Text urg'd for virginity, (*'Tis good for a man ſo to be*) of *conveniency in this life*, not of *Spiritual good*; 'tis in concent to his own Principles, which allow no

1 Cor.  
7. 26.  
§. II. n. 6.

*a Juventam paſſim in cænobia ad cœlibatum cogunt.* Luth. Exeg. in 1 Cor. I.

*b Continentia donum eſt non nostri operis, noſtra-rumve virium, proinde nec quisquam id vovere po-teſt.* Ibid.

*c Ex caſtitate meritum & jactantiam coram Deo & hominibus faciunt.* Ibid.

*d Nullus ſtatum impudentior eſt, & ad libidinem promptior Ecclesiastico & spirituali ſtatu, ut hodie-nus dies teſtatur.* Ibid.

*e Respondeo, De ſpiritu-ali nunc ſtatu loquor ad matrimonium comparato, non de Cœlibatu. Cœlibatus & vera continentia aliud eſt ac ſpiritualis ſtatus.* Ibid.

*merit,*

merit, no *intrinsic worth* to accompany one state more than another. But then he own's this convenience may be employ'd to a very good use in respect of another life too<sup>a</sup>, as it affords us freer seasons of attending upon God and Virtue. The state it self is not more holy then another, but it gives a larger scope to display the holyness we already have, and to procure what we have not. He invites all people in general to Matrimony because he thinks the *Qui potest capere, capiat* of our Saviour's, imply's<sub>b</sub>, the gift of Continence to belong but to a few. But where he meets these few, he break's out into *Euges*, and Acclamations; and expresses himself in terms that might become the mouth of St. Hierome. *Those are high and noble Souls* (says he) *who by the Grace of God have laid such a chain upon their passions, as tho' supply'd by nature with*

<sup>a</sup> Mallet Apostolus cui-vis eximum continentiae donum concessum esse, ut anxiæ matrimonii expers & miseriæ, soli Deo & verbo ejus libere totis viribus incumberet. Ibid.

<sup>b</sup> Ibid.

<sup>c</sup> Alti & prædivites spīritus sunt per gratiam Dei infrænati, qui natura corporis que viribus ad rem incurse donei non sunt, & suapte tamen sponte cœlibes permanent. Serm. de Mat. item Comm. in Ps. 128. 3.

*all bodily vigor, can yet willingly abstain.*  
 Thus after all the little sleights and cavils  
 of the Considerer, 'tis plain that *Luther's*  
 expressions are just, and his thoughts every  
 way regular upon the point. Though,  
 should he have indulg'd himself in a flight  
 or two beyond strict truth, *in praise of  
 marriage*, it had been no more than what  
 some Fathers have been guilty of *on the  
 other side*; as his very Adversaries con-  
 fess. And a great deal must have been  
 allow'd to his natural warmth of temper,  
 in this case, when 'tis consider'd what  
 sort of Church he engag'd: a Church,  
 where *marriage* had by <sup>b</sup> two Popes been  
 stil'd <sup>c</sup> *unholy*, <sup>d</sup> *carnal*, and *unpleasing to  
 God*; by <sup>e</sup> two *Saints*, *filthy beastliness*;  
 and by <sup>f</sup> a *Council* it self, *unclean abomi-*

<sup>a</sup> Espenæus L. 3. de Cont. in c. II. Hieronymus <sup>wald. vide Reg. Eccl. Wi-</sup>  
*equus sane parum esse vide-<sup>gorn. Bp. Hall. Honour of</sup>*  
*tur vel unis nuptiis. Apo-*  
*log. Tumult. p. 14. Grego-*  
*rio viro ut videtur plus sa-*  
*tis μεμ. θιαμφ.*

<sup>b</sup> Syricius, & Innocent.  
<sup>c</sup> Innocen. Exup. Tolot. Episc. Ep. 3. c. I. Dist. 128. Proposuisti. Vide Surium Tom. I. p. 530.

<sup>d</sup> Syricius Pap. Decr. Tom. I. Conc. apud Surium p. 495.

<sup>e</sup> St. Dunstan & St. Os-

<sup>g</sup> Concl. Tolet. 8. c. 5. Quosdam sacerdotes aut ux-  
*orum aut quartumcunque*  
*fœminarum immunda soci-*  
*etate & execrabilis contagio*  
*turpari. Modern examples*  
*might be alleg'd in good*  
*store. Even Bellarmin says*  
*conjugii actus hominem red-*  
*dit totum carnalem & inept-*  
*um ad divina. L. I. de*

*cler. c. 18.*

*nable*

*nable contagion.* I shall dismiss this point with a request to the Considerer, that he would do L. at least this justice in citing him, as not to make him speak *incongruously*: *Christus ipse non consuluit* says L. *cælibatum*, my Author wisely put's in. Now unless he can prove *cælibatum* a man or a woman, this Latin will be *much-what* the same with a solæcism: for nothing but men and women does *consulo* ever advise. But a piece of *false Grammar* is easily pardon'd, where we have so much *false reason* to deal with.

The discourse of *Vows* (blended with that of *Celibacy* in the Pamphlet) has that art and address in it as to make L. appear a *Lampetian*. But this is an unworthy design. For any man conversant in his Works must know, that he was not utterly against *all* Vows <sup>a</sup> but only for regulating the use of *some*. Hear him once for all thus speaking, *Ego sane non repugnaverim, si quis privatim arbitrio suo velit vovere, ne vota penitus contemnam aut damnem*<sup>b</sup>. The thing he blam'd was

<sup>a</sup> Bellarmin L. 2. de P. Lib. de Vot. Monast. Mon. c. 15. owns it.

their

their being taken up *absolutely*, without any reserve of *necessity*: His maxim was, that absolute Vows can be made only of such things as are wholly in our power *then, when* we Vow: and of this kind, he says<sup>a</sup> all *Scripture Vows* were. Now *Continence* he thinks is a *Gift* perfectly out of our reach, and therefore does not lye within the compafs of such a Vow. The Considerer supposes otherwise, affirming *this Gift to be given to all those, who use a just endeavour for it.* But we say, that the wisdom of the Holy Ghost would then never have prescrib'd marriage as a remedy for fornication, for what need of a remedy, where there is no Disease? We appeal to that Text *All men receive not this saying*, and from thence urge, that a single Life is not the Talent of all men: and *Maldonate* allows us, that *almost all* the Interpreters (amongst whom he reckones three *Fathers* of the first magnitude) do so expound it<sup>b</sup>. Though, with the

<sup>a</sup> Nullum omnino in de ædibus, agris, castigatis  
scripturis Voti exemplum legimus, nisi in his rebus,  
quæ nobis jam antea date sunt, aut subinde dabuntur  
(ut Numer. 30. constat. ut sequar. Maldon. in locum.

<sup>b</sup> Sic fere omnes expoununt: quam interpretationem adduci non possum ut modesty

modesty of a *Jesuit*, he says afterwards that nevertheless he is not of their opinion. To his three Fathers (*Origen*, *Nazianzen*, and *Ambrose*) we add two more, St. *Hierome*<sup>a</sup>, and St. *Austine*<sup>b</sup>; and are content to err in the interpretation of a Text, with almost all the Fathers on our side. But L. sometimes presumes upon the *Gift of Continency*, as when the Wife is sick §. 11. n. 4 &c. Right! in such circumstances as took their rise from a *lawful* and *warranted* action he does; and there he thinks the divine veracity engag'd to make good the promise of our being tempted no farther than we are able; not so, when the necessity that lyes upon us, had its rise from something *unlawful*, and *unwarranted*, such as he accounts *Vow'd Celibacy* to be: which he knew under this indispensable restraint was never taught nor practis'd by Antient Fathers; and he knew too the wild effects that had follow'd upon this restraint in latter times, when men allow'd

<sup>a</sup> Si omnes virgines esse possent, nunquam & Dominus diceret [qui potest capere capiat] & Apostolus in suadendo non trepidaret. Hier. adv. Jovin. L. 1. p.

<sup>b</sup> Nunc rectissime dicitur [qui potest capere, capiat] qui autem se non continet, nubat. Aug. de Adult. Conf. L. 2. c. 2.

themselves all Liberties that did not directly infringe their Vow, and *Concubinage*, and *simple Fornication* were almost expung'd out of the list of Sins. *Damianus*'s letter to *Nicholas* the 2d about the middle of 11th Century is an Authentic Record of the lewdnesses committed under the reign of Celibacy: the grossest part of his confession, was (as *Baronius* owns) suppress'd by the Pope, yet as it now stands, 'twould make a man think *Sodom* and *Gomorrah* were rebuilt agen. *Clemangis*'s complaints <sup>a</sup> near 300 years ago are known things, and *Erasmus*'s confession <sup>b</sup> is a standing testimony. Who is ignorant of the story of *Petrus Aloysius*, *Paul* the 3ds Bastard, or of the *Arch-Bishop of Benevento*'s Poetry? These were crying lewdnesses, yet not resented by the Popes then in the See: nay the latter was thought fit to be honour'd afterwards with the character of *Nuntio* to the §.11.n.3. *Venetians*. Yet the Pamphlet is very warm with L. for impiously accusing the Religi-

<sup>a</sup> De statu Eccl. p. 47. & chi sint publicè incesti & inde. impudici &c. Erasm. An-

<sup>b</sup> Quam innumeri Mona- not. in 1 Tim. 3. p. 533.

ous of uncleanness. And if it were so, how could be know it, that himself liv'd chaste? The Question is silly enough to Answer it self. The matter of fact has been already in part made out, and might yet farther be clear'd by a Cloud of Witnesses. The beastlynesses upon Record committed in our *English Monasteries* are a sufficient sample of what was done in the rest. We have the *Prior of St. Andrew's Confession* amongst our Rolls: we have an abstract of the *Breviarium Compertorium in Monasteriis A. 1538.* Which if we do not more largely insist upon, 'tis our *good manners* that will not suffer us to talk of those sins, which their *Religion* did not hinder them from *Acting*. In such a time therefore as this, when the Celibate was stain'd with these impurities, 'twas requisite to preach up the honour of the married state in the highest strains it would bear. Prudent Zeal could contrive no better an expedient, and I see not how L<sup>s</sup>. Accuser can charge him on this account, as *encouraging the liberties of the Flesh*, unless he first subscribe the lew'd determination of *Coster*

Vide. §  
3. 12.

and the Casuists, that says 'Tis less sin  
for Priests to fornicate then marry'. As  
§.ii.n.3. for that expression, *si Domina nolit, ad-*  
*veniat ancilla*, tho' it be indeed too light  
upon so serious an occasion, yet any man  
who consults the Context will find no-  
thing indecent at the bottom on't. L<sup>r</sup>. is  
making a decision upon St. Paul's rule of  
separating *only for a time*. Here, says He,  
*if the Wife persists in an obstinate denial*  
*of the Bed opportunum est ut dicat maritus*  
*si tu nolueris, alia volet; si Uxor nolit,*  
*adveniat Ancilla*. That is, she shall be  
taken into her place not as *Woman* but as  
*Wife*; after divorce made from the other:  
for so the next words plainly speak *ita*  
*tamen ut antea iterum & tertio uxorem*  
*admoneat, & coram aliis ejus etiam perti-*  
*naciam detegat, ut publice & ante con-*  
*spectum Ecclesiae duritia ejus & agnoscatur*  
*& reprobetur. Si tum renuat, repu-*  
*dia eam.* He must first admonish her twice  
or thrice in public, and then *Repudietur*  
*Uxor, adveniat Ancilla.* I was willing to

a Sacerdos si fornicetur, | tamen peccat, si matri-  
aut domi Concubinam ha- | monium contrahat. Coster,  
beat, tametsi gravi sacrile- | Ench. c. 15.  
gio se obstringat, grayius

propose

propose this passage intire, to take off the disguise which it's Quoter has put upon it. He has shuffled the two ends of the sentence together, and by taking out the *ita tamen &c.* in the middle, make it speak just as he would have it. That which gives distast to the Ear in it is a *German by-word*: and such kind of things L. according to the humor of those times, pursues with some fondness: take it singly, and it carries an air of levity, I confess; but, in consort with the rest, you see, has a meaning quite different from what this Author would insinuate.

Thus far my Author has slip'd his first design; not a letter of what has been yet said promoting any ways the tryal of L.  
*Spirit*, by the *Fruits* of it, He begins now (after a *Parenthesis* of 25 Pages) to offer something that looks that way. L.  
*Anticelibacy stay's not here*, he says, *be* §. 12.  
*Shook off his Vow, and Married a Nun*: This we acknowledge to be a *Work*, and we'll prove it *no bad one*. Had he done it with the *Pope's License*, his Adversaries must have been silent, for that's a rul'd case with the School-men; and the K.

*of*

Aragon's story is too known to be repeated. Yet these same Schoolmen do not stretch the point so far, as to say the Pope has an *absolute unlimited power* over these Vows: no, a *solemn Vow* (such as *Luther's* was) is, they say, *de jure positivo ac naturali*: and that in this therefore, the Pope cannot *make* a nullity, where there is none; but only *declare* it, where it is<sup>a</sup>. Now if L. Vow was *of it self* void, what need of a recourse to the Pope to have it *declar'd* so? 'Twas made immediately to *God*, without any intervening obligation to *his Holyness*; and tho' the judgment of the Church be desirable to satisfy a scrupulous Votary that he is releas'd, yet if the Votary be satisfy'd without this judgment, and his grounds be rational, he may act accordingly, without sin. Now L. had several reasons to think his Vow not binding. It was taken up without *de iberation*, or even *consent*. *Neque enim libens, & cupiens fiebam Monachus, sed à*

*a Papa non potest dis-* | *quidem dispenset, sed per*  
*pensare in Voto solenni:* | *interpretationem æqui &*  
*quis enim potest dispensare* | *boni declarat eum qui vo-*  
*in jure naturali & positivo?* | *verat, non teneri voto.*  
*possunt quidem incidere* | *Maldon. Sum. q. 12. art. 7.*  
*cavæ, in quibus Papa non*

*terrore*

*terrore & agone subitæ mortis vovi coactum  
ac necessarium votum<sup>a</sup>:* And against the  
express commands of his *Father*: to  
whom Obedience was he knew injoin'd  
by Scripture, when Continence was not<sup>c</sup>.  
So many flaws had this Vow in its first  
conception. And as he had taken it up  
through disobedience, so 'twas laid down  
in compliance to that very authority it  
had defy'd: for so *Melchior Adamus* re-  
lates the story. But what need was there  
of doing this in the 42d year of his Age?  
*when* ( in the homely phrase of the  
Pamphlet ) *the boilings of nature were  
now well asswag'd?* But is the Considerer  
so well acquainted with *Luther's Casis*,  
as to be sure of that? Are fresh lustings  
a greater wonder after forty, than a new  
Religion after threescore? If L<sup>r</sup>. did not  
then *burn*, how comes this act to be a  
*Fleshy Lust* with my Author? If he did,

<sup>a</sup> Praef. ad Lib. de Vot. yet p. 63. when these ex-  
Monast. This citation my pressions are for his pur-  
Author has pag. 3. but pose, he cites 'em all intire.  
mangled, he leaves out <sup>b</sup> Te ignorante, &c invito  
those first words, neque e- id tentavi. Ib  
nim libens & cupiens fie- <sup>c</sup> Continentia non est  
bam Monachus, sed and mandata, Obedientia vero  
then in the end coactum est mandata. Ibid.  
ac necessarium votum. And

why

why is it question'd, when an Apostle has given his warrant for it? He himself, I own, gives *another reason* for his Marriage *the leaving his own doctrine confirm'd by his own example<sup>a</sup>*. But he does not give it as the *only one*. Tho' should he lay the whole stress of the case upon this principle 'twould easily bear it. Men were then strangely possess'd with the eternal obligation of a Vow: when they grew uneasy under it, yet they look'd on Marriage with horror and detestation, and chose rather the methods God had *forbid*, than the remedies he had *appointed*. To rescue men's minds from the slavery of these notions was L<sup>s</sup> design: He could no ways so effectually recommend his doctrine, as by being himself the example of it. This motive therefore was sufficient to authorise what he did: since according to St. Thomas<sup>b</sup> and St. Ber-

<sup>a</sup> Epist. ad Mich. Shifel.

<sup>b</sup> Qui vovet quodammodo sibi statuit legem, obligans se ad aliquid, quod est secundum se & in pluribus bonum: potest tamen accidere, quod in casu aliquo sit in utile, vel majoris bo-

ni impedimentum, quod est contra rationem ejus quod sub voto cadit: & ideo nescie est quod in cali casu determinetur votum non esse servandum. Aqu. 2. 2. qu. 88. 10.

nards<sup>a</sup> rules, 'tis allowable to exchange a Vow for any greater good that stands in competition with it. And the picking out *Bora* to match with, one who had formerly been a Nun, was but making the President he was going to set, more conspicuous; and an open declaration that the quarrel between him and *Rome* was irreconcileable.

Besides, it must be consider'd, that L. did not, by any particular solicitations, invite *Bora*, either to leave her Monastery, or to take up Thoughts of Marriage: she had done both of her own accord. Her Veil she had thrown off above two Years before her Acquaintance with L. and went so far in these Resolutions, as almost to close with a Match that was proffer'd her, but this breaking off, his Offer was accepted. *But*, Adamus says, *That L. himself afterwards regretted that Action.* What is meant here by *regretting*, I don't understand: for Adamus says no more, than that he was concern'd at the Censures of some People about it: But

<sup>a</sup> Non arbitror Deum exi pro eo aliquid melius fuerit  
gere à nobis quodcumque / absolutum. Bernard. Ep. 57.  
sibi promissum bonum, si

the Pamphlet in the next Words will explain it self, where we are inform'd, that *Melancthon* too, by L. procurement, took a Wife, so that it's plain now that by *regretting* is meant *approving*: for certainly, if a Man were disgusted at Marriage, he would never recommend it to his Friend. This I take, in the Language of the Book, p. 10. to be a sufficient *Autocatacrisy*. If the English Reader be startled at the Word, he may be pleas'd to know, that it's Greek for a *Blunder*.

§. 13. After these advances, L. wholly left off his Canonical Hours: an heynous accusation! why, he had left off his Monkhood too, and was no longer oblig'd to them. How could he have the leysure and re-tiredness of the Cloyster, to perform all those acts of Devotion in, when the Burthen of the Reformation lay upon his Shoulders? No, his active spirit was employ'd upon things more acceptable to God Almighty, because more useful to mankind. He was wrestling against Principalities and Powers, against the Rulers of the darkness of this world, and against spiritual wickedness in high places. To Ephes. 6. 12, 13. 14, 15. 16, 17. 18, 19. that

that end he took unto him the whole armor of God, that he might be able to withstand in the evil day; and having done all, to stand. He stood therefore, having his Loyns girt about with Truth, and having on the brest-plate of Righteousness, and his feet shod with the preparation of the Gospel of Peace: Above all, taking the shield of Faith, wherewith he was able to quench all the fiery darts of the wicked. And he took the Helmet of Salvation, and the Sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God: Yet praying always with all Prayer and Supplication in the Spirit, and watching thereunto with all perseverance, and supplication for all Saints; And for himself, that utterance might be given unto him, that he might open his mouth boldly, to make known the mystery of the Gospel. I could not forbear setting down at full length this Panoply of St. Paul, where-with L<sup>e</sup>. compleatly arm'd himself in his spiritual warfare: and I do not know whether this description so justly belongs to any Man as him, since the Days of the Apostles. Should he therefore have laid aside his *Canonical Hours*, yet the Work

he was about, sufficiently attor'd for the Omission. But I had rather his Accuser should vindicate him, than I. You will find then, that though L. has *discharg'd* these duties *quite* at the entrance of the Paragraph; yet at the end of it you will be told, that he *never totally cast off this holy Exercise.* So obligingly does this Author contradict himself, to spare the Replyer's pains. And this ease I must acknowledge he has more than once afforded me.

§. 14.

In the following Account of L. appearing before the Legat in *Germany*, I must desire him to rectify a mistake or two: for neither was L. condemn'd by *Cajetan* there, nor was *Cajetan* a moderate Prelate. *He descended to bitter reprobations* (says *Soave Hist. Counc. Tr. p. 8.*) *and base terms, and concluded that Princes have long hands, and so bid him be gone.* Here was no Judicial Process, all ended in a threatening: and this *moderate Prelate* behav'd himself with such a rude zeal through the whole conference, that even his own party blam'd the furiousness of it. [*Soave ibid.*] If L. afterwards threw off

off the Popes Authority, it was not till he had try'd all softer ways of redress, by Letters, Remonstrances, and the most submiss applications: it was not till a fresh Bull of *Leo's* had declar'd how inflexible the Court of *Rome* was in the point of Abuses; and not till *Prierias* had in down-right terms told him *Indulgenciarum autoritate scripturae non innotuere nobis, sed autoritate Ecclesiae Romanae, Romanorumque Pontificum, quae major est.* The Pope now was become a party in the cause, and could not be rely'd upon for a decision: to a Council therefore he appeal'd; and, if he afterwards revok'd this Plea too, 'twas because he found the expected Council was dwindling into a Conventicle; a pack'd Assembly of Italian Bishops, not a free convention of Fathers from all Quarters of the Christian World. So that to urge upon this account, that he deny'd the Authority of the present Church, or deny'd the present Church to be a true one, is to say no worse of it, an unmerciful Synechdoche: for by the present Church here is meant no more then the Court of *Rome*, and it's dependents. But he is chal-

<sup>§. 16.</sup>  
leng'd

leng'd of going much farther than this, even to the denial of the visibility of the Church for many ages: upon what account? Because he made this the only note of the true Church, that there the Gospel be truly and sincerely preach'd. As if L<sup>r</sup>. and with him a great train of learned Protestants, did not own, that in all that dark midnight of Popery there were still some gleams of light, some witnesses that arose, to give testimony to the truth, and protest against innovations! I cannot but take notice in my way, of a little artifice of the Considerer's; a knack he has of disguising a Doctrine, when it lyes a little too open, by putting a new name to it. Is it too bold to say the Elements must be ador'd? they shall then only have a certain sort of a *Cult*<sup>a</sup> paid them. So here the Priest is said, to operate the presence of the body and blood of Christ: which is plain broad English is neither more nor less then to make God. But that's too gross to go off, so a term is coyn'd to make the conveyance easy.

<sup>a</sup> See Disc. about the Euch.

As for the newness of L<sup>s</sup>. opinions and §. 16.  
 his marching alone, against the Doctrine  
 of the primitive ages, 'tis so beaten a point,  
 that it deserves no other Answer than that  
 true Jest of Scaliger's, *Nos non sumus No-*  
*vatores, sed Vos estis Veteratores*: and the  
 Considerer, if he pleases, may apply it.

But 'tis ridiculous to say he deny'd the §. 18.  
 validity of the former Clergy's ordination:  
 for that necessarily draws along with it,  
 the invalidity of his too. Yet he proceed-  
 ed, we see, in the work of his Ministry  
 without expecting any new Mission, and  
 never thought himself oblig'd to a reordi-  
 nation. No, he was so far from this, that  
 in the Articles of Smalcald he own's Or-  
 ders confer'd by a Popish Bishop even then  
 to be valid <sup>a</sup>: and in his Letter about the  
*Anabaptists*, you will find him in 20  
 places owning, that the C. of Rome hath  
 the *true Faith, Baptism, Sacraments, the*  
*Keys, the Office of Preaching &c.* Con-  
 ceSSIONS that run as high, as any the most  
 charitable Protestants now make. So that  
 that objection of the Devil's in L<sup>s</sup>. book  
 of the Mass, must be counted a flourish

<sup>a</sup> Smalcald. Art. 10.

only, and not a convincing argument: for tho' L'. gives his assent in general to the reasoning of that discourse, yet he do's not say every particular of it amount'd to a demonstration. As for his book *adversus falso-nominatum ordinem Episcoporum*, and some harsh expressions about the Prelates of his time, they must not be so understood as if he meant to un-bishop 'em, but only to set out their corruption and degeneracy. Athanasius does not speak more softly of the *Arrian Bishops* in Constantius his Court: he says they are *καταστοὶ εἰς ὕποκριτής*: and that if any of 'em has a mind to be consecrated, be is not told, that a Bishop should be blameless, but only bid to rage against Christ and never trouble himself about manners<sup>a</sup>. But these words must be allow'd a latitude, and are not strictly to be taken, as if the Father deny'd the validity of their Consecration.

S. 17. After the Breach with the Pope, 'tis own'd that L'. took the freedom of calling

<sup>a</sup> Εἴ τι περὶ αὐτοῖς σῆμα-  
χωπός θίλεταιντος εἰς ακούεις  
λίτης τὸν ὕποκριτόν αὐτοῦ λαβάνθων  
ἴσταις. αλλὰ μόνον, φρόνεις καὶ

Xp158, καὶ μὴ φρόντες τῶν  
τρόπου. Athan. Ep. ad. So-  
lit. Vit. agentes. p. 812.  
Edit. Paris. I. 27.

him

him *Antichrist*, whenever he came in his way : but e're this can be made his crime, it must be prov'd, that St. *Paul* has not call'd him so too ; for otherwise we can't but think that he has taken after a good pattern. If his spirit must be dubb'd evil for an hard word or two against his Holyness, of what spirit pray was the sacred Council of *Brixia*, when they stigmatiz'd *Hildebrand*? calling him *Virum procacissimum, sacrilegia & incendia prædicantem, Perjuria & Homicidia defendantem, manifestum Necromanticum*, and a deal of that stuff. Now can I see no great difference between L. and the *Council* in this matter, but that they rayl'd perhaps with *infallibility* on their side, when He had only plain *certainty* on his.

But he rejected the authority of *Coun-* §. 19.  
*cils* : yes, *siquando contraria Scripturæ statuunt* , and so do all the Reform'd, as well as He. So that this won't pass for a fault in *him*, till 'tis prov'd one in *us* too. But he never refus'd to be concluded by the authority of One legally summon'd : as is plain from that Preface of his to the *Smalcald Articles*, written a little while

\* *Affert. Art. 29.*

before he went out of the world. Indeed the sense he had of the Tricks and Artifices us'd in convening These Synods for some Centuries together, and the noise of his Adversaries, who were perpetually crying *Councils, Canons, &c.* when they had nothing else to say for their cause, might perhaps force out an expression or two from him, that did not carry all the respect due to those great Names: he had fire in his temper, and a German bluntness, and, upon these provocations, might possibly strain a phrase with too great freedom: yet even the diligence of his accuser has in all his works been able to find out but a few passages of this nature; and of them the most material perhaps were never found out by any body else but himself. For those two, which seem the warmest on this occasion, are quoted, the one from *Assertio Art. 36. contra Reg. Angliae*, the other from a Treatise of his about *Councils* in 1639; two imaginary books that the considerer dreamt of perhaps, but I am sure L. never wrote.

<sup>a</sup> In Luther's Works in High Dutch there is a Book of Councils I confess. But this can't be that my Au-

thor means, because his Quotations here are in Latin.

So that till he lays his Indictment in some certain County, we don't think our selves bound to answer an indefinite charge. As for the rest, we acknowledge, he call'd the Council of *Constance*, *Synagogam Satanae*; and I wonder my author should be offended at the expression, when 'tis consider'd what unlucky things they did in the busines of the Popes Supremacy: especially since their own Annalist has given the same Title to that of *Syrmium*: a Council legally summon'd by the Emperor *Constantius*, approved by Pope *Liberius*; and which they of the Roman Perswasion have no colour to reject, but upon Protestant grounds, because it made Heretical Decrees. L. says, *sive Papa, sive Concilium sic aiunt; abundet quisque in sensu suo, in rebus non necessariis ad salutem.* *Assert.* Art. 28. Here is He represented by this author as denying the power of the Church in indifferent things: but this is foul dealing to conceal the occasion the words were spoken upon, and then fasten a sense of his own. This Article is aim'd against the pretences of a

*Pope or Council* to make that *a necessary point of faith*, by their determination, which was of it self *unnecessary* before. For they took upon 'em he knew to enlarge the *Creeds* which were already fix'd; and had explain'd a Parable of our Savior's in a far different sense to what he taught it in: The *Faith*, which was but *a Mustard-seed* in the Primitive ages, was grown by little and little towards the beginning of the 16th Century into a great Tree. This power of theirs and no other L'. here disowns: as any one that views the place but cursorily, must needs see. There is no harm in this I hope: and yet how big the accusation look'd, as his fly Enemy had manag'd it? There is another sentence taken from Tom. 2. p. 243. But I must desire the Citer henceforward to inform us of his Editions too: for in the first *Wirtenberg* one, which I now have by me, no such thing appears. I would request of him too, to be punctual in his Titles, that we who are at the drudgery of Reading him, may lose no more time than is necessary. By the book *de gravi do-*

*Etrina,*

*Erina*, is meant, I suppose, *de quavis doctrina*.<sup>p. 33.</sup> but 'tis a trifle he has taken from it, and what he knows every body owns. Thus has this one Paragraph afforded us more absurdities, than we could possibly have expected in so narrow a compass; and methinks, tho' I dont well know what the words mean, yet in the phrase of the man, it discovers *a strange plerophory of blindness.*

L<sup>t</sup>. is next arraign'd for speaking contemptuously of Fathers: but this is a rank calumny: No man has a greater veneration for 'em than He. Let his latest Writings (which our Author observes to have been the most *haughty*) give us a tast of his thoughts of this point. <sup>s. 20.</sup> *I say not this, to lay a blot on the Holy Fathers, whose Labours we ought with veneration to receive; They were great men, but men still: and a little afterwards,* <sup>b</sup> *When we*

<sup>a</sup> Non hæc dico in contumeliam Santorum Patrum, quorum labores venerari decet; fuerunt magni viri, sed viri tamen. Comm. in Genes. c. 2. p. 72.

tura non convenire, cum reverentia eos toleramus, & agnoscimus tanquam maiores nostros, sed propter eos tamen non discedimus ab autoritate scripturæ.

Ibid.

<sup>b</sup> Quoties videmus patrum opiniones cum scrip-

find the opinions of Fathers jarring with Scriptures, we must pay a respect to 'em even in their very Errors, and acknowledge them as our Betters: but we are not nevertheless for their sakes to depart from the authority of holy Writ. Nothing can be express'd with greater decency; and therefore we may reasonably suspect false play in the Citations, which would persuade us to the contrary. To instance in the first; *Non ego quæro quid Ambrosius, Augustinus, Concilia, &c. dicunt.* Contra Reg. Angliae. L. is there proving that no sort of Tradition can make an Article of faith, of what is not contain'd in Scripture; and in this case if a thousand Ambroses, or Councils should vote it such, he would slight the decision. This is plain from what immediately follows; *Non dispiuto quid à quoquam dictum vel non dictum sit, sed an hoc dictum necessarium sit servatu, an sit articulus fidei, an sit aequale verbo Dei, &c.* I desire the Reader to trust his own eyes in consulting this Passage, and then tell me, whether this Man be not the foulest Trader in Quotations, that ever he dealt with. Indeed

he is a very *Procrustes* in his way : whatever he meets of other men's, he unmercifully either stretches, or curtails, till he has made it exactly of a size with his own notions. The rest of the Testimonies are highly impertinent : and if they be look'd into, 'twill be found they signify no more than this; the Fathers have *err'd*, and therefore he cannot rely *merely* upon their authority : and what is this more than their own *Canus* and *Cajetan* say ? that no man should detest a new sense of Scripture for this, that it differs from the antient Doctors, for God hath not (say they) ty'd exposition of Scripture to their senses<sup>a</sup>. We have a surfeit of Quotations here agen from the *Colloquia*: but I have told him what credit they are like to find with us. That from *Captivitas Babylonica*, needs only to be propos'd intire. It goes upon a *supposition* that L. had already shew'd the plain meaning of Scripture to be against the doctrine of the Mass. Here, says he, *Quid dicimus ad autoritates Patrum?* *Primum respondeo, si nihil habetur quod di-*

<sup>a</sup> Can. Loc. Com. L. 7. | *Cajetan* too.  
C. 7. where he quotes Ca-

*catur, satius est omnia negasse, quam Missam sacrificium esse concedere, ne verbum Christi negemus.* Very right! supposing, as he does, that *Christ's* words are express in the case: But neither does he rely on this Plea: for in the very next line he reconciles the *Fathers*, and *Scripture*: and shews there is no clash betwixt them. What he wrote in commendation of *Melancthon* before his works, cannot be suppos'd so exact, as to discover his judgment on the point: but was only a compliment strain'd a little too high in behalf of a friend.

§. 23.

I must leave the Track of the Discourse here, to fetch in another instance of L<sup>s</sup>. despising Church-Guides, and yet arrogating to himself all the Authority of them. 'Tis at §. 23. Which because I take to be the compleatest piece of false dealing that ever was us'd on paper, I shall set down intire.

*Upon the same presumption of his unerring judgment, he by his single Authority alter'd the former publick Liturgy, and reform'd the service of the Mass.* (apud Hosp. fol. 20.) The place cited in *Hospinian* has not one word of this, but it  
has

has something directly contrary to it. *Luther* began not the Reformation of the service of the Mass; the *Austin-Fryars* did it, <sup>a</sup> without his knowledge, when he was in his retirement after the Dyet of *Worms*; and he wrote his book of the Abolition of the Mass afterwards, only to confirm them in what they had done. *Carlstat* too, <sup>b</sup> while he was absent, promoted a Reformation of the Mass, and of several other abuses: but in too tumultuous a manner, so that *L.* upon his return to *Wirtenburg*, complain'd of the violence of their proceedings. *Non quod impie fecissent, sed quod non ordine: damnare se Missam Papisticam, &c. sed damnare solo verbo, non violenta abrogatione.* The Mass then was abrogated, without *L.* consent; and not either by the single Authority, of him or any one man else: the whole University of *Wirtenburg* first gave in their reasons to *D. Frederick*, and he himself comply'd with the alteration. *Luther* afterwards prevail'd to have as much of the service as was innocent restor'd agen; and he was deputed to throw out all that part of

<sup>a</sup> Hosp. fol. 20.

<sup>b</sup> Melch. Ad. V. L.

it, that made the Sacraiment a Sacrifice. He did so, but impos'd not even this form as obligatory: for thus he speaks in the preface to it. *Nulli præjudicamus, ne aliam amplecti formulam aut sequi liceat; quin ex animo per Christum obsecramus, ut siquid melius illis revelatum fuerit, nos priores tacere jubeant, ut communi opera rem communem juvemus.*

— and generally held in matters of Religion no Ecclesiastical [i. e. human] Laws obliging. (See before §. 19.) I have prov'd already, that that Paragraph says no such thing, and that L. never disallow'd the power of the Church in things indifferent.

— began a new ordination of Bishops and Ministers descending from him, after having declar'd their former unction null, and God's Church to be only that where the Gospel was purely preacht; that was bis. I have shewn that he's far from declaring their former Unction null, since in the *Smalcald Articles* he allows their Ordinations to be valid. Nor did he ever deny the true Gospel was preach'd under the Papacy. *Nos fatemur* (they are his words) *sub Papatu plurimum esse boni Christiani,*

*imo omne bonum Christianum, imo verum  
nucleum Christianitatis<sup>a</sup>.*

— By the same Authority assisted by the Power of the Prince, he made new Bishops, and put them in the places of the deceas'd: against the Canonical Election of another, made his intimate Friend Amsdorf Bishop of Neoburg. (see Melch. *Ad. vit.* p. 150.) George Aubaltingus, Bishop of Mersburg. That he made new Bishops, we admit; not out of *choyce*, but *necessity*: following, as he thought, in this case the practise of the Church, mention'd in that well-known passage of St. Austin's--in *Alexandria & per totam Aegyptum, si desit Episcopus, consecrat Presbyter.* But that he put these Bishops in the places of the deceas'd *by his own Authority*, is notoriously false; for the D. of Sixony always presented: as the following story will evince, when freed from the disguises he has put upon it, and honestly told. The Canons of Neoburg upon a vacancy, presented one Pfugius to the Bishoprick, who was refus'd unanimously, *ab Ecclesia, ab Ordinibus, & Patronis Ecclesiae*, says Adams<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> Ep. de Anabapt.

<sup>b</sup> Ad. in Vit. Amsdorfi.

The D. of Saxony had always the right of *Allowance*; but in this case 'twas deny'd him: so he thrust out the Invader, and collated *Amsdorf* to the Benefice: *Luther* perform'd the Consecration, and the D. and his Brother *Ernest* were present at the Ceremony <sup>a</sup>.

— *By the same Authority he sentenc'd the Canon-Law, consisting of the former decrees amass'd, as well those of Councils, as those of Popes to the fire; and assembling the University solemnly burnt it at Wirtenberg.* The matter of Fact is true, but 'tis frivolous to say he assum'd to himself any particular Authority in the doing it. The reasons, he publish'd, declare that 'twas done by virtue of the Commission he had, as Preacher of God's word; and the Oath he took, at his going out *Dr. of confounding all pernicious Doctrines, as much as in him lay.* So that he owns himself upon the level with all of the same degree. But he had other motives, he tells you, His books had been solemnly burnt at *Rome* as Hæretical: some people, he found, were startled at it; so he was

<sup>a</sup> Ibid.

forc'd

forc'd boldly to make reprisals, and do an action in the same way, to buoy up their courages: yet he did it not singly, the University concur'd. This way of *Burning* declares no such *Authority* as the Considerer talks of. Neither he, nor any one else that assisted at the *Oxon-Decree*, pretended to it: if He declar'd his *opinion* then against *Bellarmin*, the *Jesuits*, &c. it was all that was expected.

—*By the same, he frequently pronounc'd Anathemas, and Excommunications to those Reform'd that dissented from him in opinion.* Is there no difference between an *Authoritative Judicial Anathema*, and a *Wish of Execration*? The Monks certainly did not pretend to the Anathematizing power; and yet at the entrance of their MSS. we always find this sentence; *Quicunque bunc librum violaverit, &c. sit Anathema Maranatha.* 'Tis the constant style of all their own men that write warmly: *The Papist Repr. and Misrepr.* has us'd it at the tail of his Pamphlet for some pages together. Thus has not this Paragraph one ingenuous word throughout. I have dissected it for a sample, to shew how a man

man that had the patience, and was sure of the days of Job, might handle the rest: for I'll do my Author this right, to acknowledge, that his Books are all of a piece. But he is here inconsistent not only with truth but himself. He would make us believe that L. in these actions pretended to a *je ne scay quoy Authority*, forgetting what he had sleepily own'd in the Paragraph before, that L. requir'd *not conformity to his Doctrines, out of any Authority he claim'd to impose them, which Authority he renounco'd*. He thinks perhaps, that what is *past* ought not to be thought of, but we are not of his opinion.

In this point of *Church-Authority*, and that other of *Marriage*, I have sifted all the little scraps alledg'd by the Pamphlet, with the greater care, because here it is, if any where, that the Author seems to be awake, and have some eye to his design. I don't know whether the Reader will thank me for this exactness, I hope the Writer won't. But to make amends to them both, I promise in what follows not to be so punctual, but skip over sometimes 4 or 5 pages together, without saying

ing one word to 'em. This Weapon formed against us, if it had any sharpness, yet by this time I'm sure 'tis quite blunted : a Child may now be trusted with it, for the Tool has not Edge enough to hurt him. For what are the mighty Considerations with which we are now to be entertain'd ? The first is that —

*Luther* was so *bold*, as to think, and § 21,  
say he was *certain* of what he taught : a<sup>n.</sup> 1.  
Crime of so high a Nature, that the Considerer has taken pains to prove it by a Passage as long almost as from hence to  
the beginning of the Reformation. Now §. 14.  
n. 1, 2.  
he might have spar'd his labour, for all well-grounded Protestants are in this point as *bold* as *L.* himself. We have a certainty, whose Evidence we find, and under whose Guidance we think our selves secure, without the pretended boast of Infallibility : a Word, which sounds bigger indeed, and fills the Mouth better, but is not so satisfactory at the bottom; as a late Author has (tho' not *infallibly*, yet) certainly prov'd. But we'll allow the

\* Disc. about Judge in Controv.

*Considerer* to decry this Protestant Certainty, which he never understood: if he had, our Charity tells us, he would never have chang'd it for the gaudiest pretences on t'other side.

§. 24.  
n. 3.  
§. 21.  
n. 2.

But L. maintain'd this certainty of his against other *Reform'd*, which were equally certain; and in contradiction to himself too: for in the point of *Consubstantiation*, toward the latter end of his Life, he chang'd his mind, say the papers; and quote for it *Melchior Adams*, and *Hospinian*. I suppose my Author is *sure* of L<sup>s</sup>. instability in this point, because he averrs it so confidently: Now I am *as sure*, that from the authorities mentioned no such thing can be inferred, as shall presently be made out. Here is certainty against certainty, and one of us must be in the wrong. Yet neither of us is oblig'd to think his own sentiments e're the lefs right, merely because the other opposes 'em: Why then might not L. maintain his certainty against those of the Reformation that maintain'd the contrary? The conviction of his Understanding lay within it self, and could not be weakened by

by another Man's not being convinc'd. The reason of my certainty in the case is, because I am very well satisfy'd that what *Adams* and *Hospinian* have here said, does not at all infer a *Change* in *Luther's* Opinion. The Story they tell is this—  
 L. some days before his Death, own'd that he had written a little *too warmly* in the Sacramentary-Controversy : Upon this, *Melanthon* desires him, [*ut leni edito scripto se explicaret*] that he would *explain* himself in some *milder* Treatise. The Heat of the Dispute had forc'd out from him Expressions, that seem'd to make his Doctrine run higher than really it did. 'Twas his Friends advice therefore, that he should, in some just Discourse, *calmly*, and without reflection, state the point ; and (*not correct*, but) *explain* his first notions, [*ut leni edito scripto se explicaret.*] Now whatever Sense *explaining* may *now* bear, yet in those days it did not signify *changing* : for the Bishop of *Condom* had not then writ his *Exposition*. I am further convinc'd, that this Story relates not to any change of *L<sup>s</sup>.* Opinion, but only to an hot word or two,

that ought to have been softned, from the Preface, with which *Hospinian* ushers it in. *Multi* (says he) *verba Lutheri* *wr-*  
*gent, quæ calor disputationis φιλονίκοις ex-*  
*primere solet, dissimulantes aut nescientes*  
*illa, quæ valedicturus Collegio Philosophi-*  
*co dixit:* and then comes the Relation.  
Had his Adversary acted up to this Remark of *Hospinian's*, the bulky Book we have now before us would have lain within a very little compass. But to go farther, and to yield him what he does not ask.— What if *Hospinian* should have said in other places, that *L.* waver'd in the point of the Sacrament? does it follow, that he really did so, because one of differing Sentiments, and that would any ways have drawn *L.* over to his party, has said it? or can we conclude upon *L.* *instability* (as our Author has done) because in a single notion, no ways fundamental, an Enemy writes that he had some doubtings? This is such a way of reasoning as is *answer'd* only by being *despis'd*. However, 'tis pretty odd to see *instability and fluctuation in Opinion* so earnestly charg'd upon *L.* by such as have liv'd half their days

days in a poysē between two Churches ; and write even now, when the Scales are turn'd, with so much *maryness* and *reserve*, that a Body would not think 'em heartily of any.

But L<sup>r</sup>. condemn'd his Brethren of the Reformation too ; not without their returning the Censure.— There was eagerness, I confess, on both sides, but this is far from laying a Blot upon L<sup>r</sup>. It argues him a very honest Man, who had such a Zeal against Error, as not to suffer it in a Friend : and is an undenyable evidence, that he took not upon him the Character of a Reformer, in opposition to a *Party*, (as has been falsly suggested) since where Truth was concern'd, he equally oppos'd *All*. The Debate perhaps between him and the *Sacramentarians* (as they are call'd) was manag'd with a fierceness, not exactly warrantable : but it must be consider'd, that the best Men of Antiquity have been guilty of such excesses. Have we forgotten the Feud of *Hierome*, and *Ruffinus* ? of *Epiphanius*, and *Chrysostome* ? of *Victor*, and the Greek Bishops, whom he excommunicated for a trifle ?

Or to go higher, did not *Paul* and *Barnabas*, when sent out together by the Holy Ghost, dispute with that vehemence, about a very little point of conveniency, that they were forced to *break company*? These infirmities are such as Christians of the first Rank have fallen into ; and the proving L'. guilty of them, is the proving him a *Man*, and no *Angel*. How far either he, or any other Reformer might go in this quarrel, out of a Love of victory and the shame of being baffled, it concerns not me to determin. I am satisfy'd with what the Apostle has told me, that — *some preach Christ out of Contention and Strife, yet so they preach, and so we believe.* But what will my Author leave unobjected against L'. when (p.67.) he makes it his crime, that he *defy'd and abus'd even the Devil*? whereas *Saints* (he says) are *usually more modest*, and go no farther than a bare *imperet tibi Dominus*. A pretty way of calling himself *Saint* ! for 'tis his own familiar phrase. But upon the same principle we must deny him to be one, for *Saints* are usually *more modest* than to call themselves so.

We

We are now to have a Tast of the *maleſ. 33.*  
*dicency of L<sup>s</sup>. Spirit* from his Book against  
*Henry the 8th* : a fault, which I cannot  
but wonder to find objected by such Men,  
who every day make bolder with the  
names of both him, and his Royal Issue.  
I shall not wholly *defend* his carriage here,  
since he himself has *condemn'd* it. All  
the truth in the world on one's side can  
never justify an unmannerly expression.  
But it must be consider'd, when a King  
of such repute and learning enter'd the  
Lists against him, what a noise this action  
made, and how some weaker Protestants  
must needs be startled by it. L<sup>s</sup>. there-  
fore, that he might fix his Followers,  
thought himself concern'd to take up a  
brisker air of assurance, and shew a par-  
ticular undauntedness in the cause of  
Truth, when it had so mighty an Opposer.  
But here he overacted his part : his pas-  
sions, when once let loose, were too im-  
petuous to be manag'd ; the native plain-  
ness of his Country, and the privacy of  
his own Education, which had not been  
much acquainted with Greatness, carried  
him beyond the Respects due to a Crown'd  
Head ;

Head ; and brought out such blunt Truths from him, as neither Friends, nor Enemies could tell well how to approve. But the party was even with him. Sir Tho. More took up the Quarrel, a Man (as they tell us) much a *Christian*, much a *Gentleman*, and naturally of great *Mildness* and *Candor* : who yet forgot himself so far in this Answer to L. that he has there thrown out the greatest heap of nasty Language that perhaps ever was put together. The Book throughout is nothing but downright Ribaldry, without a grain of reasoning to support it ; and gave the Author no other reputation, but that of having the best knack of any Man in *Europe*, at calling *bad names* in good *Latin*. Tho' his passion is sometimes so strong upon him, that he sacrifices even his beloved *Purity* to it. — *Hæc est* (he says) *Domini Doctoris Posterioristice* ; *qui quum sibi jam prius fas esse scripserit Coronam Regiam conspergere & conspurcare stercoribus* ; *an non nobis fas erit posterius hujus posterioristicae, linguam stercoratam pronuntiare dignissimam, ut vel mejentis mulæ posteriora lingat suis prioribus, &c.*

p. 72. I forbear to instance any farther: if the Reader has a mind to see railing in its perfection, let him open any page of his book, and he'll have a glut of it. But perhaps the bad treatment, which L'. had before receiv'd from one Sovereign Prince, might urge him to talk the more disrepectfully of another. The style of Edicts, we know, is generally calm and majestick: yet *Charles the 5<sup>th</sup>* after the *Dyet of Worms* put out such a blustering one against L'. as even modest Papists have condemn'd.— *Constat* (says he) *bunc unicum non hominem, sed dæmonem potius figura & specie humana cuculloque Monastico indutum, &c.* *Ulemburg* confesses that this decree was by some thought too sharply penn'd: but these were only the Ignorant (he says:) for others very well knew, that *Maximilian* once saw a Devil sitting upon his Cowl<sup>a</sup>. As for the heat, with which he treated his other adversaries, 'twas sometimes strain'd a little too far, but in the general was extremely well fitted by the Providence of God to rowse up a people,

the most phlegmaticick of any in Christendome. *Europe* lay then under a deep Lethargy, and was no otherwise to be rescu'd from it, but by One, that *would cry mightily, and lift up his voice with strength.* Besides, *Printing* and *Letters* had just peep'd abroad in the world; and the restorers of Learning in *Italy*, taking the advantage of the *Press*, wrote very eagerly against one another, so that *Invectives* were in those days the fashionable way of writing. If *L.* therefore mingled a little Gall with his Ink in his books of Controversy, he follow'd but the humor of the Age; and considering the *stupidity*, the *malice*, and the *obstinacy* of his Readers, cannot but be thought excusable. I have seen at the end of *Theodoret's Ecclesiastical History*, a Catalogue of *Cæsars, Bishops, Hæreticks, &c.* where *Chrysostom* is set down as guilty of too great sharpness, and liberty of speech: but 'tis added—*Profecto illorum temporum vitia secari atque uriri, non levibus medelis curari volueret.* And this is the Plea we would make for *Luther*. In the mean time 'tis base in his Adversaries thus to dwell upon the excesses

excesses of a passion, of which they themselves were in a great measure the occasion. When they could not coolly convince him <sup>a</sup>, they rail'd, and call'd him an Hæretick: thus they wound up his temper to a pitch, and then treacherously made use of that infirmity. And 'tis the same ungenerous method they take in reproaching us with *Schisms*, when alass! none knows better than they, how the *Panther* (for under that name it seems we must be baited) came by her *Spots*.

To what purpose then are *Erasmus* and *Calvin's* testimonies urg'd upon a confess'd point? 'Tis own'd L. had a vehemence of speech, and if he offended that way, yet 'twas an *useful* (not to say a *necessary*) failure. There was but this single fault that *Erasmus*, though an Enemy, could object to him; the other part of the character speaks as high as we could wish. For his Life and Manners, thus—*Hominis vita magno omnium consensu probatur. Jam id non leve prejudicium est, tantam*

<sup>a</sup> Tot sunt millia Rab-  
binorum, tot sunt qui sibi  
videntur: nullus ex-  
sticit qui Lutheru-  
so teque responderet, sive  
in scitia fuit in causa, sive  
ignavia, sive metus, quorum  
nihil competit in bono  
Theologos. Erasm. Epist.  
ad Godesch. Anno 1520.

*esse morum integritatem, ut nec hostes reperiant, quod calumnientur.* And as to his doctrine, *Compertum est a Theologis quibusdam dammari ut Hæretica in libris Lutheri, quæ in Bernardi Augustinique libris, ut Orthodoxa, imo ut pia leguntur<sup>b</sup>.* So that *Erasmus* is perversly brought in to blacken L. reputation: what he says of him would not disparage the best of Saints: for it amounts to no more than this, that he had many great virtues, and amongst them one small infirmity. So that if the Standard *Comines* has given us of a good King be accepted, that he is then to be accounted so, when his Virtues exceed his Vices, how good a Man must we conclude L. to have been? *Guicciardine*, I'm sure, has taken a much greater latitude for Popes, who, he says, <sup>c</sup> *are now adays to be prais'd for their goodness, when they exceed not the wickedness of other men.* But further, *Schooling Luther*, is an undervaluing term, and would make one think that *Erasmus* had a mean opinion of him. Whereas I do not know any one

<sup>a</sup> Ep. ad Tho. Card. p. 543. Ed. Lond. 1642.

<sup>b</sup> Ep. ad Archiep. Mag. p. 586.

<sup>c</sup> Guicc. L. 16.

even

even of the Reform'd that speaks more respectfully of *Luther*, than he. When *Aleander*, and *Caracciolum* were sent from *Rome* to *Colen* in 1520. to tempt *Erasmus* with a Bishoprick, to write against *Luther*, hear the return he made them. *Major est Lutherus, quam ut in illum ego scribam.* *Major est Lutherus quam ut a me intelligatur.* *Plane Lutherus tantus est, ut plus erudiar & proficiam ex lectione unius pagellæ Lutheranæ, quam ex toto Thoma.* If this be Schooling, 'tis well for the Considerer: I'll engage that no adversary of his shall in this sense ever school him.

There is a little occasional Remark of the Author's, p. 45. which slipp'd me. He is there angry with L. for saying —That *Peter taught* otherwise than he should by the word of God, and therefore *Err'd*: whereas his *Example* only, he says, and not his *Doctrine* was false. But this is trifling: for are there no Errors in matter of Practice? and do's not He who so errs, if he be in a conspicuous station, teach as much by his Example, as he could by his *Doctrine*; since every action is sup-

pos'd always to be bottom'd upon soine principle? But besides 'tis highly probable that Peter asserted an opinion agreeable to this practice: for else how could *St. Paul withstand him to the face?* Withstanding by words on one side implies an opposition in the same kind on t'other. When *Elymas* is said to have *withstood Paul and Barnabas*; and when *Paul* says of *Alexander*, *he bath greatly withstood our words*, do we think the *withstanding* there was without speaking?

*He steps out of his way* (p. 59.) to make a remark upon *Calvin*: but because the Scene of our affairs now lyes at *Wirtenberg*, and *Geneva* is many miles off, he must pardon me, if I don't *step out of my way* to confute it.

Hitherto the Considerer has been attacking L. in his *Doctrines and Positions*: and now and then a *Work* or two has crept in to keep his first *design* in Countenance: he's now making his last efforts upon his reputation, by shewing us what *Company* he kept. He would perswade us that L. had frequent intercourses and *Dialogues with the Devil*. He proves it

first by the story L. tells of himself in his book *de Missa privata*, &c. 'Tis true, he does there say, that walking once at midnight, Satan began this disputation with him: but how began it? *In animo instituit*, say the words of the Relation: by suggesting bad thoughts to him, not by any *personal conference*, as the Pamphlet all along would insinuate. To fix this Idea upon the mind of the Reader, there is an account here given of Satan's way in disputation: *Diabolus sua argumenta fortiter figere, & urgere novit: voce quaque gravi & forti utitur*, &c. All which is wanting in the first *Wirtenberg*-Edition, but was requisite to support the fiction of a *real appearance*, which my Author had rais'd. If L. relates these suggestions in the way of a formal and set Dialogue, it is only a contrivance of his to make the story more divertive in the telling: and was perfectly the style of the Convent in those days: I desire therefore the Reader to remember the excuse L. has made for himself—*Pium Lectorem oro, ut ista legat cum Judicio, & sciat me fuisse aliquando Monachum*<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> Luth. Pref. in Op.

He goes on with 2 or 3 Quotations  
 from *Melancthon*, and *Melchior Adamus*,  
 which in their utmost stretch can signify  
 no more than that L. lay under severe  
 agonies of mind. Oh! but *Adams* says,  
 p. 52. *the Devil appear'd to him in his own Garden*  
*in the shape of a black Boar.* And the  
*Colloquia Mensalia* relate, how when L.  
 was at his Chamber in the Castle at *Warts-*  
*burg*, *the Devil crack'd some nuts*, he had  
*in a box upon the Bed-post*, *tumbling empty*  
*Barrels down stairs*, &c. What pretty  
 stories these are for a man of my Author's  
 seriousness to sport himself withal! He  
 knows *Adams* is a Collector, and took  
 every thing upon trust, without ever be-  
 ing fam'd for any exactness of judgment:  
 and as for his *Table-talk* he would do well  
 to vent it there, where 'twas first spoken,  
 for we have told him more than once, that  
 it is not like to bear the force of an argu-  
 ment with us: it may serve to *divert* a  
 Reader, but is not fit to *convince* him.  
 But L. himself confesses (*Lib. de Vot.*  
 p. 62. *Monast.*) that *the Devil us'd all methods*  
*to binder and annoy him:* No doubt on't,  
 'twas his interest, so to stop the progress  
 of

of the Gospel: and since L: death, the same design has been carrying on by *him* and *his Agents* against his reputation. But this is so far from giving us a prejudice against *Luther*, that we think it a very good character of him, that the Devil and he were at enmity, and no very bad one, that the *Considerer* is not his Friend. I have strictly examin'd particulars here, and letting every tittle, he has brought, go in his own sense, can discover, after all, none of those *frequent intercourses and negotiations*, we were told of. Unless it be proper to say that L. *negotiated* with a *Black-boar*, and had an *intercourse* with the Devil about *Nut-cracking*. Stories so silly, that they are fit to be the Objects of a stronger and more resigning Faith, than we Protestants can pretend to.

Pass we on then to the next Paragraphs. And there I found my Author pretty well disengag'd from Quotations. I was in hopes upon this to see a fair naked piece of reasoning, and was resolv'd to give it as fair an Answer. But I quickly saw there was no need for it; *sbeer argument* is not the talent of the man, I have

to

to deal with: Little wrested sentences of authors are the Bladders, which bear him up, and he sinks downright, when he once pretends to swim without 'em. He discourses us here very largely upon the *Craft and Wilyness of the Devil*; and proves how *fly and double-fac'd* his designs commonly are, for 4 or 5 pages together: all which we in one Line *answer*, by *granting* it. But what inference does he make from these Premises? that a man beset with Temptations *cannot possibly know*, with what design the Devil attacks him? No: that *Luther did not*? Nor that neither: but only that 'twas pretty difficult for him to do it. Perhaps it was, but if fastings, prayers, and a serious application in order to a discovery of truth won't call in God Almighty's assistance, what shall we say of that Text where 'tis promis'd, that we shall not be tempted above what we are able? These means L. us'd, and these we question not but God accepted of, and led him into Truth. Now for our Author's saying that this *might be* a Satanical Illusion, so say I too: but the question is, not what it *might be*, but what it

it *really was.* And to this there's not a syllable of proof offer'd. He has only busily been proving how ready Satan is to get an advantage over us: 'tis own'd; and he has been formerly told, that we are not ignorant of his devices.

But the Arrow is now drawn to the head. There seems great evidence, he says, that the whole platform of the Reformation proceeded Originally from the Devil. A gross calumny! which we could not easily pardon, if he did not kindly wipe it off, by the reasons that follow. His very next words are—*For many of these very arguments against the former Church, which the Devil now openly own'd and urg'd to L. in this disputation held A. D. 1522. were the very same that had been urg'd by L. some years before.* That is, because L. urg'd these arguments first, and the Devil afterwards, therefore L. copied from the Devil. 'Tis amazing to consider how this inference should come into the head of any thing that thinks. The truth of the story is this. L. had publish'd several Treatises against the Mass long before this dispute: one in High Dutch

in 1520; and the same year had writ against it in his *Captivitas Babylonica*: another in Latin, entitled *de abroganda Missa privata A°. 1521.* and some months before this, in his book against *Ambroſius Catbarinus*, and his *Wormes-Articles*. In 1522. the Devil (that is, *Luther's Conscience*, by his instigations) turns these very reasonings upon him; and taking advantage of 'em as of confest principles, infers, that then L. must have been unpardonably wicked in using Masses for 15 years together. *Audisne, inquit, excellētissime Doctor? num ignoras Te per annos quindecim privatas Missas quotidie fere celebraſſe? &c.* How comes the Pamphlet to conclude then from this account, that whilst L. was in the bosome of the Church, the Devil by his arguments disputed him into a Reformation? Will he pretend that these reasonings must needs be receiv'd from Satan at first by L. because us'd by him afterwards against Luther? This is so precarious a consequence, and yet establishes so unchristian a reflection, that it deserves only one of his own *Deus tibi imperets* for an Answer. Let the case be

put

put home to him, and he must own the foolishness of it. He has left the Communion of the Church of *England* for some time; upon good grounds, I suppose, he'll tell us—and convincing reasons: should the Devil now employ these very reasons against him, by the force of them to set out how heinous his sin was in continuing so long in our Communion, would it follow that the Devil was the Author of his Conversion? Or rather would he not think us that made this inference, neither good Christians, nor good Arguers? And yet he, who would pass for both, has not, we see, given L. fairer play. But *the Old Serpent*, he says, *was very silly*, if his design upon L. in this conference was as we have represented it: *for he might have consider'd in the discovery of so much new truth, what might have hapned, if instead of despair he should prove a Reformer.* What does he mean here? Could the Devil fear a discovery of Truths, which (as he himself owns p. 71.) L. had preach'd up 5 years before? Could he dread a future Reformation, which had then been a good while afoot? These are

such inadvertencies, that a body would think, even our Author with all his drowsy reasoning could never have been capable of 'em. No, his design was to stop a Reformation already begun, by involving in despair one of the chief supports of it. He gave no new light to L. but only accidentally added new strength to his Faith, inasmuch as the assault was in vain. False therefore is that Assertion of the Pamphlet's, that *L. yielded the field to the Devil in this Combat as Conqueror*: All he yielded to in the dispute, was the conviction of those arguments, which he himself had before reform'd upon. The objections the Tempter rais'd from hence to discourage his Faith, and shake his Constancy, those he withstood and baffled. What is there then in this Encounter that can be lay'd hold of to L. disadvantage? Is it, that he convers'd with the Devil? He did not, we see; the dispute was manag'd *in animo atque in corde*, by suggestions *within* not *without* by any personal appearance. But had he really enter'd into a Dialogue, yet the President, our Saviour has given, would have been his warrant. And would

on

one ransack the Lives of their Popes [*Syl-  
vester the 2d, Gregory 7, Benedict 8,  
Hildebrand, &c.*] 'twere easy to retaliate,  
and shew how much greater intimacies  
have been maintain'd between *Satan* and  
some of *them*. Is it, that his Doctrine of  
the Mass was struck out in this Conflict?  
or that it gave him any occasion of Re-  
forming in this point? We have evidently  
made out the contrary by an elder date  
of some works of his, which establish  
these very opinions. Yet should it have  
been so, the actions of their own Saints  
would justify L'. management. For their  
admir'd *Dominic* reform'd the Religious of  
his Convent upon just such another ran-  
counter with the Devil <sup>a</sup>; and made use of  
his accusation, though contrary to the in-  
tention of the accuser. Is it that L'. com-  
ply'd with the Tempter's arguments? no  
such matter! The supposition he allow'd,  
because 'twas his own; but deny'd the  
Sequel, which his disputant would have  
fasten'd upon him. Yet should what he  
yielded to, have been Satan's own pro-

<sup>a</sup> Vid *Antonii Chron.* 3. Part. Tit. 23. Cap. 4. 6.  
position

position, it does not follow that he was therefore in the wrong: for *Lying* is not the indelible Character even of the *Father of Lyes*; sometimes a Truth serves his turn better. He quoted Texts right upon our Saviour, though he expounded them wrong: and surely he told no lye, when he confess'd Christ Jesus to be the Son of the living God. Do's this story carry such scandalous impressions along with it, that even *Chillingworth* himself owns it as one of his motives for deserting our Communion? But pray take in the other part of the account too; and consider how he laugh'd at it when he return'd. So that after a search into particulars, all we find true in this affair is, that the Devil once made a solemn onset upon L. as before he had done on his Redeemer. A Calumny, which we are so far from disowning, that we are proud on't! The Devil had great reason to employ all his Engines against a Man, who had made such ravage in his Kingdom: and he took a good time to make his attacks, when L. was in his solitudes at the Castle of *Wartsburg*: for there it was, I think, that the scene

of the Temptation lay. Upon the whole then, our Author's modesty seems to be unexampled, who upon so slight grounds, nay upon no grounds at all, could be bold enough to say, that — *the whole Platform*<sup>p. 71.</sup> *of the Reformation proceeded originally from the Devil:* and again that — *the Devil*<sup>p. 72.</sup> *is the Original Founder and Abetter of the Reformation.* These are such sawcy expressions upon a Religion establish'd by Law, as deserve rather to be *burnt* than *confuted.*

The manage and address of my Author has been spent to no purpose in tricking up this story: for after all, we see, it has no hideous appearance. He's resolv'd now (in contradiction still to the method laid down of considering works only and not disputing) to baffle the arguments the Opponent urges in the dispute, and shew how slight the propositions were, which L: let go for good. So that the Tables<sup>p. 72.</sup> are turn'd, and whereas the Scene before lay betwixt L: and Satan, 'tis now betwixt the Devil and the Considerer. And for my part, to give every one his due, I think the Devil has much the best on't.

I shall

§. 40.  
n. 3.

I shall pass by the little skirmishings on either side, and touch only on what's material. The Devil argues against private Masses, from the nature of Christ's institution, when he distributed it about to his disciples, and said—*Do this, &c.* From St. Paul's Comment on these words *1 Cor. 11.* from the Primitive Church<sup>a</sup>; and from the term *Communion*, which she always express'd it by. Here the Answerer has nothing to say, but that the Priest in these Masses is *ready* to communicate the Sacrament to all that offer themselves. But this is not enough: for the Devil's question is, whether it be not *against the notion of a Sacrament*, that the Consecrator alone should partake of it? He urges farther, that neither have they any *intention* of communicating it, because the words of Consecration are pronounc'd, according to the Canon of the Mass, with a *Whisper*, and so not design'd for the peoples Ears. And to all this there's not a word reply'd. The Devil goes on to object, that as L. had *withheld all* the Sacrament in *private*

<sup>a</sup> See Annot. in Conc. Where this usage is con-Trid. Sess, 22. Cap. 6, fess'd.

Masses

Masses, so neither did he *give it entire* in  
*publick ones.* To this the answerer re-<sup>§. 40.</sup>  
turns nothing, but that the practise of  
the primitive Church is sufficient warrant,  
that the words of institution are not so to  
be expounded as if both kinds were ne-  
cessary. But this bold assertion has been  
so fully vanquish'd in a late Reply to the  
Bishop of *Meaux's* treatise on this subject,  
that I shall not stop here to expose it. The  
Reader will there find, that not a single  
instance of Communion in one kind is to  
be found in all the Records of antiquity.  
At least, if our word will not be taken,  
that of the Council's will, which decreed  
it with a *non-obstante* to the custom of  
the Primitive Church. Satan argues a-  
gainst their form of ordination, which<sup>§. 40.</sup>  
seems rather to give the power of *offering*  
*a Sacrifice*, than *distributing a Sacrament*.  
For the words, he says, of the Suffragan,  
when he delivers the Chalice into the  
Priest's hands, are—*Take thou Power of*  
*consecrating, and Sacrificing for the Quick*  
*and the Dead.* What says the Replyer?  
Why that *Sacrificare* in the Churches  
sense takes in the distributing part too.

M

But

But we know this is not the Church-sense, and refer our selves to the *Trent-Catechism* to expound it. There <sup>a</sup> the Eucharist is said to be instituted upon a double account: the one that it might be a Spiritual food for our Souls, the other that it might be a Sacrifice for our Sins. So that whatever belongs to it as it is the food of our Souls, belongs to it as a Sacrament: and certainly the ministring of it to the people belongs to it, as it is the food of our Souls, and therefore as a Sacrament not a Sacrifice. Besides the notion of *Sacrificing* has nothing in it of distribution. 'Tis offering something slain by the hands of a Priest, to God. Now this is all done, before it comes to be distributed to the People, as they who allow private Masses must needs acknowledge. It avails not the Considerer here to urge another part of the office, where the Priest is said to be ordain'd *in totum Presbyteratus officium*: for if in the most solemn clause of it, where the power is specify'd, and convey'd, no mention be made of a power of *imparting the Sacra-*

<sup>a</sup> Cap. de Euch. § 75.

ment, why should not the *totum officium* be rather reduc'd to this, than this to that? Nor do's this prejudice L. Orders at all: for since no set form of words is prescrib'd by God as essential to Ordination, we doubt not, but that, where the Church intends to convey this, it is actually convey'd, though the form of doing it should be a little defective: which is all the Devil here pretends to make out; and which yet I don't see how his Adversary has answer'd. Satan proceeds to another objection against his using the Mass as a Sacrifice propitiatory for sins, contrary to Christ's institution. Our Author says, 'tis a propitiatory Sacrifice, only as those under the Law are said to be so, with respect to that on the Cross. But by his leave, we deny the Parallel: for the question we would put, is not whether the Sacrament of the Mass be as *truly propitiatory*, as those under the Law? but whether it be as *truly a Sacrifice*? If so, then it is a true proper Sacrifice, without relation to that of the Cross; (for such the Jewish Sacrifices were) and is not only *commemorative, or representative*, as we

M 2 are

are told at a push: Even as the annual offering of the Paschal Lamb was not only commemorative of that first Paschal Lamb, but also in it self, exclusively to that respect, an entire proper sacrifice. But if he shall say, 'tis not of it's self a true proper sacrifice, 'twill follow, that neither can it be so, with respect to that on the Cross; for whatever is not in it's own nature a true proper sacrifice, can never be made so by a relation to some other that is. The Parallel then is wide. For the immolations under the law were first in their own nature Sacrifices, and then propitiatory in virtue of that last offering upon the Cross: whereas the Sacrament of the Eucharist has not that first ground of a real Sacrifice; and so nothing to support it's propitiatory virtue upon. But learned Protestants he says have long since yielded up this argument, and quotes *Mede* and *Perkins* for it. They say indeed that the Eucharist is a *sacrifice in representation*, and who ever said otherwise? but deny expressly that 'tis *really* and *properly* such. Our Author wonders they should relieve themselves with this distinction, and yet own

§. 45.

own the Legal Sacrifices (though representative) to be proper and real. But I hope his *wonder* will abate a little, now I have shew'd him the difference between them. St. Paul's authority brought from *1 Cor. 10. 18.* is beside the purpose. The Apostle is there arguing against the *Gnostics*, who joyn'd in the Idol-Feasts, and whom he therefore accuses of participating of the Idol-God: even as those (he says) who joyn in the Christian Feast, participate of *Jesus Christ*.—Therefore the one is as much a *Sacrifice* as the other! No! But therefore the one is as much an *act of Religious worship* as the other, and a *confederating* with him to whom the *Sacrifice* is offer'd: for upon that the Apostle's argument runs. Satan had therefore reason to say, that Christ instituted not the *Sacrament* to be either a *Sacrifice*, or singly receiv'd: for look upon the words of institution—*Do this*—Do what? no doubt on't, what I did; that is, bleſs the bread and wine, and distribute it. So that, where this is not done, there is no *Sacrament*; and where it is done, no *Sacrifice*. For nothing is done but what Christ did. Now he

he did not offer up himself: for then what  
 need of the oblation of the Cross after-  
 wards? as 'twas well urg'd by near half  
 the Divines and Fathers of *Trent*. Who  
 asserted also that neither Scripture, Fa-  
 thers, Canon of the Mass, or any Council,  
 ever said that Christ offer'd up himself in  
 the last Supper. But I am weary of say-  
 ing what has been so often said, and shall  
 therefore leave Satan and my Author to  
 dispute it out, as not being much con-  
 cern'd which way the victory goes: for  
 the strength of the cause, I suppose, does  
 not depend upon either of their talking.  
 Indeed since the main of the argument has  
 prov'd good, 'tis a needless task to vindi-  
 cate particulars. If what is said in the  
 lump be suppos'd of force enough to  
 ground L. aversion against the Mass, 'tis  
 all we desire. So that had I leisure to pur-  
 sue the minutes of the discourse, yet the  
 argument would be but where it was: for  
 one demonstration upon a subject is as good  
 as a thousand. The disputing part might  
 have been spar'd here, because 'tis foreign  
 to the first design of proposing *bare Works*,  
 and by them making an estimate of do-  
 ctrines.

*a Counc.*

*of Trent.*

*p'g. 545.*

ctrines. But I must be content to follow my Guide in his own way. Should I have set aside every thing that was impertinent, my Answer must have lain within the room of one of his paragraphs. But this hadn't been deference enough to an Author of his *bulk*; and the *dwarf* had look'd too despicably little to encounter the *Gyant*.

He comes now to make his reflections §. 41. 42. upon this dry tedious story. He guesses it probable that the Devil intended by this Dialogue to fix *Luther's* notions of the Mass more strongly upon him: and I guess otherwise. His only way to confute me will be, to shew, that those *notions* are *bad*: till that's done, we are not to be mov'd by conjectures.

Here is a digression about *Zuinglius* §. 44. which yet contrary to the rule of *Episode*, has nothing in it surprizing. *Zuinglius* dreamt, it seems, one night of a *Text*, which upon recollection he found very pat to his Doctrine of the Eucharist: and what thoughtful man is there, that has not met with such lucky hints sometime or other, without thinking himself oblig'd to the Devil for the discovery?

The

§. 45.

§. 46.

§. 47.

The next Paragraph recapitulates, and has been Answer'd already. He begins then to make his *Concessions*. *Luther*, he thinks, discover'd not these wiles of *Satan*; but infers, that he was therefore the more dangerous instrument: and so takes occasion to tell us the story of *Vani-nus*, and lay out bigotry, and false confidence in all its colours. Some people have dy'd by *suspension at Tyburn*, he says, some by *fire at Smithfield*, with an equal resolution for two contradic-tories. This is a darling Point, and he's every where full of it: you'll find him at it, in *much what* the same words. *Church-Gov.* part 5. p. 260. But what does he mean by it? would he argue that because both thought themselves *certainly* in the right, therefore he of the two that was in the right, was *not sure* of it? Does Truth know her self e're the less to be truth, because *Error* stands up, and pretends boldly to know the contrary? This strikes at *all certainty*, as well as *Luther's*: and my Author must be a *Sceptick*, and no *Roman Catholic* if he believes it.

He owns there were several specious pretences for a Reformation, and allows L<sup>r</sup>. not to have been destitute of many personal Virtues ; but then he says they did not balance his Vices : and to prove this, instances in his *Sensuality* and *Disobedience* ; two Crimes, which he has dealt with, as *Varillas* does with *Charles the Fifth* ; and to make the more solewin Shew, split 'em into twenty. For he accuses him of *Pride* and *Contention*, of *Licentiousness* and *Rebellion* ; of *Anger*, and *Impatience* : he accuses him of *Self-admiration*, and *Contempt of others* ; of *railing*, and *blaspheming* against the Catholic Church,— and of a great many other *Synonyma*'s. All which have been sufficiently confuted in what goes before ; and shall here receive no other Answer, than one of his own, [—*Words.*] I shall give one Instance of my Author's Integrity, and so dismiss this point. He cannot but own, that L<sup>r</sup>. dissuaded the Protestants from taking up Arms in the Cause of Religion, but (according to his usual way of guessing at Peoples thoughts) imputes it to their being conscious of their

Weakness. All that I shall say to this kind Censure is, that the Passive-Obedience of the Primitive Christians has been us'd at the same rate, by a late Author, whose Faoe I have since seen through a Pillory.

§. 52.

He gives a finishing stroke to his Reasonings now towards parting, by a *Parallel* drawn between *Luther* and *Mahomet*. A Man is tempted here to return the Kindness, and give him another between *some body*, that he knows, and *Judas*. But we understand with what design this odious Comparison was made, and shall therefore (to mortify him) *not be provok'd*. Only he'll give us leave to revive an old Observation, that *Mahomet*, and *Pope Boniface* were Cotemporaries. Indeed *Boniface* got the start of him a little, and set up his Kingdom about fifteen Years before him: but *Mahomet* having the Advantage of so good a Pattern, tho' he began something later, has thriv'd better. There is an Author too of ours that has writ a Book, call'd *Turco-Papismus*, which I would desire him to read, before he ventures at capping Characters. These, he has given us, are very childish

childish, and have no other property of *Parallels*, but that draw them out of both sides, as far as you please, they'll *never meet*. I am too weary now to allow my self any Excursion from the main Design ; else here's a fair opportunity to shew how great a Bungler my Author is in hitting Features. And after all, let the Like-nesses be never so true, yet a *Parallel* in a Writer of a Controversy, is no more than a *Simile* from a Pleader at the Bar : it may glitter a little, and look prettily, but will never convince the Jury. What is said upon this Occasion then, I shall suppose within a Parenthesis, and so go on.

He resumes the first Method afresh, § 57. and after this long account, would now at last try his *Doctrine* by his *Works*, according to that Text — *Ye shall know them by their Fruits*, which he here repeats again, and expounds as formerly. But I have shewn him from the natural drift of the Words, from the joint Authorities of our and their own Expositors, that this Text must have another meaning. Yet we have comply'd with this Sense

too ; and expected after we had condescendedly made L. Works Umpires in the Controversy, that the Gross of his Book should have been taken up in setting *them* out : but find contrarily, that two thirds of it have been employ'd against his *Doctrines*. We may hope at least that he will be more pertinent in the  
 §. 61. close. Here then, after some little Flourishes about the Connection of Truth and Holiness, Error and Vice (which kindly destroy one another) he sums up the Evidence ; that is, he sets out what bad Consequences *Luther's* Doctrine had ; instancing in *Variety of Sects, Dissolute-ness of Life, &c.* which (he says) attended the Reformation. So that by *Works*, it seems, he did not mean L. *Works*, as we were foolishly made to believe for above 100 Pages together ; (for on this Topick not one Word here is said) but the Works of those that followed *Luther* ; and when *His Failings* are too light to carry any Weight, *other Mens Vices* are thrown into the Scale. What a strange Thoughtlessness is this, to write a Book, and then baulk the whole Design

Design of it, just when 'tis to be shut up? *The Deserter*, it seems, is resolv'd to maintain his Character, by running from every thing, and leaving his own very Methods in the lurch. But how does he *prove* this Dissoluteness of Manners upon the Reform'd? why, as he does other things, he *says* it. Now whether there were at that time any such bad things as he talks of, among Protectors or no; yet we are sure these Fruits could not spring naturally from L<sup>s</sup>. Doctrine: they might perhaps arise from it, as Vermin from the Power of the Sun, by equivocal Production; but that they were its direct genuine Issue, is a Proposition in vain *asserted*, unless it be *prov'd*. To shew this, would be to his purpose: till he does, we are left at a Gaze, and have nothing (for all his fine Promises at first) to try L<sup>s</sup>. Doctrines by, but the very Doctrines themselves. But Men had reason to suspect 'em (he says) because *they came into the World neither with Miracles, nor, ( if we consider all said ) with the Signs of a Spirit, nor yet own'd or defended (nay also rejected and condemned by the Church.)*

*Church.)* For the first of these, *Miracles*, *Luther*, we own, came without them, but neither had he any need of them. Their use is to establish some new Doctrine, not to restore an old one, which was his case. And therefore he no where pretends to any extraordinary immediate Vocation, but only to that ordinary Call of the Presbytery, and the Commission then given him to preach the Truth of the Gospel, and confound Error. As to the Signs of a good Spirit, I have consider'd all said, and cannot find that he had the Signs of a bad one. He had a Zeal for God's Glory, which hurried him sometimes beyond what was decent in his Expressions: but this Imperfection was, we doubt not, easily pardon'd by that God, who in some measure accepted *Iehu's* Zeal, tho' stain'd with gross Hypocrify. In other things, I hope I may, by this time, boldly pronounce him blameless. As for the *Churches* rejecting and condemning his Doctrine, 'tis the old Figure of the *Church of Rome* for the *Catholic Church*; and 'tis too trite a Subject to be here insisted on.

But

But *Truth and Holiness, Error and Vice* §. 59.  
*have a necessary Connexion*: What then? *Luther* we have prov'd an *holy Man*, and therefore this does not touch us in the Sense he would have it. Yet *Truth and Holiness, Error and Vice*, are not, it seems, so *necessarily link'd together*, but that *a Teacher of something false may bring forth the fruits of a good Life*; and contrary, *the Teacher of Truth the Fruits of a bad*: for these are his Words in this very Paragraph. So that *Necessary* and *Contingent* are the same in this *Man's Logic*.

Again, he proves that *where more corrupt Doctrines are believ'd, and taught, there for the general are more corrupt Lives*. Agreed! but are *Luther's Doctrines* of such a Stamp? Indeed in his §. 60.  
*gross way of delivering them, they may have such an appearance*. The four main Heads are, he says, 1. *The Nullity and Antichristianism of the former Clergy, and the Non-obligation of their Laws*. But I have made out from the *Smalcald Articles*, that *Luther held no Nullity in this case*: And though in Points fundamental he

he allow'd not the Authority of Councils, as depending merely on Revelation for them : yet in things *indifferent*, I have shew'd that he was as willing to be concluded by their Sanctions as any Man.

2. *The utility of works, penance, mortifications, &c.* This is all a slander: he decry'd not the *use*, but the *merit* of them. 3. *The servitude of Man's will, and the Inability to do good even in the Regenerate.* L. Doctrine of Free-will is, when fairly expounded, the same with the Church of *England's*: as such we *own* it, and shall *defend* it. 4. *The sole Sufficiency of Faith in us for our Justification.* We have told him, that *Luther* held good-Works as necessary to *Salvation* as any Papist of them all, though he did not think they were the *Cause of Justification*. That they follow'd upon it, as *Heat* attends the *Light* of the Sun, he own'd : but then as *Heat* does not *enlighten*, however close join'd with that which does, so neither do they *justify*. If then 'twas out of these three latter Points, that a great *Dissoluteness of Life, Covetousness, Oppression, &c.* grew; 'tis

to be hop'd the Crimes imputed are but a Fiction, and that the Reform'd are not so bad as they are represented, since those three Points, when truly stated, have a quite different air, we see, from what he has bestow'd upon them. The Paragraph referr'd to, I'm sure proves no such thing: there are two or three Expressions from *Erasmus*, *Calvin*, and *Musculus*, which represent some of the Reformed as worse than while they were Papists. And will he take the advantage of this, so far as to say, That the Reformation does of it self make Men worse? If he will, 'tis plain, he's resolv'd to make all the *s spiteful* Inferences he can, without troubling himself whether they are *just* or no.

He proceeds to reflect on the many Sects that sprung up after the Reformation. But a late *Apologetical Vindicator of the Church of England* has so fully clear'd this Objection, that the most partial must be satisfy'd. I can add nothing to what that *worthy Author* has done, and shall therefore spare my self the trouble of transcribing. I shall only take notice of

§. 62.

something the Considerer relates on this occasion. *By reason of these Sects*, he says, *following the Reformation so close at the Heels, &c.* — L. often foretold that the true Religion should not long continue after his Death. He brings not a Letter from L. to confirm this Report, which is an evident sign that he cannot: for upon lesser occasions, he does not spare his Latin. Indeed Luther was so far from any *Difidence* of this nature, that his Adversaries have blam'd him for a too great *Presumption* on t'other side: particularly Bellarmin in his 12th Note, urges against him a Prophecy of his, that in two Years the Papal Kingdom should be destroy'd. Though this too be a Falsity, and was broach'd by Cochleus, a venomous Writer; and one so careles of Truth or Falshood, that Sanders himself is not more. But my Author has a great knack at Remarks: i'the end of this Paragraph, he makes another, about *our refining in the Points of Controversy, and coming nearer and nearer still to the Church of Rome.* Now let any Man compare Bellarmin's bold Truths,

with

with the *Softnings* of the Bishop of *Con-*  
*dom*, and the *Representer*, and then tell  
me on which side the Imputation lies.  
'Twill appear, I believe, upon this Search  
that *Old Popery*, and *New Popery* agree  
no more, than the *two Styles*.

We are come now to the last Stage of  
the Pamphlet, where we may see how  
much Art is requisite to manage Circum-  
stances well. Nothing is less obnoxious  
to Censure, than the Story of L: Death,  
when entirely told. Yet as Passages are  
here *pick'd out*, and *wrested*, it makes no  
good appearance. This we have the more  
reason to take ill of him, because he there  
quotes *Justus Jonas* his Account, the  
most authentick extant ; and yet takes  
but a single Circumstance from him in  
the whole Relation. The Truth is, no  
other Account bears any Credit with us :  
This was compil'd by Eye-Witnesses,  
*Jonas*, *Cælius*, and *Aurifaber* : who so-  
lemnly invoke God to Witness that they  
have related all things with exact Fide-  
lity ; and who indeed durst not have  
done otherwise ; since *Count Mansfield*,  
and several other Persons of Quality

were present also, and could have confuted them, had they been faulty in anything. *Sleidan* has contracted the Story from them, and in his Words I shall give it you. *Vide marg.*<sup>a</sup>. Here is first of all no

a. Prius quam Islebium perveniret, quod erat sub exitum Januarii, valetudine utebatur tenuiori : sed tamen & causam agebat propter quam erat vocatus, & aliquoties in templo docebat, percepta quoque cœna Domini. 17. vero die Februarii cœpit ægrotare gravius ex pectori. Erant cum eo filii tres, Johannes, Martinus, Paulus, & alii quidam familiares; in his etiam Justus Jonas, Ecclesiæ Halensis Minister : & quamquam erat imbecillus, prandit tamen cum reliquis atque cœnavit : inter cœnandum variis de rebus locutus, hoc etiam inter cœterarrogavit— Num in illa semperita vita simus alter alterum recognituri ? cumque illi ex ipso averent scire : Quid, inquit, accedit Adamo, &c. — A cœna quum divertisset precandi causa sicuti consuevit, cœpit augeri dolor pectoris. Ibi monitu quorundam usus est cornu monoceroris, ex viro post in minori lectulo hypocrasiti per unam & al-

teram horam suaviter dormit. Cum evigilasset, in cubiculum ingreditur, & ad quietem iterum se compenit, & salutatis amicis, qui aderant, orate, inquit, Deum, ut Evangelii doctrinam nobis conservet : Pontifex enim & Concilium Tridentinum dira moliuntur. Hæc ubi dixit, facto silentio, dormit aliquandiu. Sed urgenti vi morbi, post medium noctem excitatus, queritur de pectoris angustia, & præsentiens instare jam vitæ finem, his omnino verbis Deum implorat. Mi pater cœlestis, Deus, & Pater Domini nostri Iesu Christi, Deus omnis consolationis, ago tibi gratias, quod filium tuum mihi revelasti, cui credidi, quem sum professus, quem amavi, quem celebravi, quem Pontifex Romanus, & reliqua impiorum turbâ persecuit contumelia : rogo te, mi Domine Jesu Christe, suscipe animulam meam. Mi pater cœlestis, etiamsi divellor ex hac vita, certo tamen scio, me tecum esse per-

no Surprise, as the Pamphlet tells us. *Luther* had early Warnings given him by a lingring Sickness, and was sensible of his Death some time before its approach. Neither happen'd it amidst all the *Jollity* that is pretended : He had discours'd all that Day on Divine Subjects, had employ'd his latter Days in preaching and receiving the Sacrament, and his Breath departed with a Prayer. But this Prayer had never a *Miserere mei* in it, says the Objecter. What then? must all good Men at their Death be ty'd up to a particular Phrase ? yet nevertheless it had something equivalent: *Rogo te, mi Domine, Jesu Christe, suscipe animam meam,* was no assuming Expression, but as much a Request of Mercy as the other. He dy'd calmly too, and with all the easiness of a Man falling asleep: not with the

permansurum in sempiter-  
num, neque posse me tuis  
ex manibus à quoquam a-  
velli. Non multo post hanc  
precationem, ubi spiritum  
suum in manus Domini  
commendasset semel atque  
iterum, tanquam dormitu-  
rus, paulatim è vita dece-  
dit, nullo cum corporis,

qui quidem animadverti  
posset, cruciatu. Sleid. ad  
Ann. 1546.

*This Account falls in ex-  
actly with Thuanus's ( Hist.  
Lib. 2.) a Writer of the  
other Party, and even Suria-  
us himself has given us  
[Comm. p. 474.) a Copy of  
the Prayer.*

*tortura oris*, and *dextrum latus totum infuscatum*, which we are told of out of *Cochleus*. The Considerer might be ashame'd, after he had professedly disown'd that senseless Writer through his whole Book, to close it up at last with a little piece of borrow'd Malice from him. A thousand such Particulars as these might be drawn from *Lindarus*, *Pontacus*, *Thyrræus*, and the rest of that rank Crew, who have taken care that neither *Luther* nor any other Reformer should go down to the Grave in Honour. *Luther* had the good luck to detect one of these Shams whilst living : for even Then a Story was sent abroad of his Death, with all the hideous Circumstances imaginable<sup>a</sup>: But he himself confuted it in writing, and shew'd us in this one Report what Credit may be given to the rest. Yet *Bellarmin* was so taken with these Fooleries, that he has ridiculously enough inserted into his Notes of the true Church, this for one— *The bad ends of its Opposers*: and there with a great

a. Vide Lonicer. Theatr. p. 246.

deal of formality tells this story of L. death, and twenty more not less extravagant. But let the *Considerer* rebuke him <sup>p. 104.</sup> for it: his words are, that *the chief authors of Sects and Heresies have, not unfrequently, nothing in their Life or Death exorbitant or monstrous:* which also is a kind hint, that he himself has been committing an impertinence for above an 100 pages together; For 'tis an *Observable* very easily drawn I think from this *Confession,* that *the Life and Death of a man can be no standard of his doctrine;* which evidently undoes all he has been doing, and puts us in mind once agen of the *Humble-bees, and the Tinder-boxes.*

I have done with his Paragraphs; and shall now examin a little his design in writing 'em. It was, I suppose, to lay a blot upon the *Reformation* in general, and particularly that of the *Church of England.* But first, how comes the *Church of England* to be concern'd in what *Luther* said, or did? Whilst he was pulling down the Papacy in *Germany*, she was carrying on the same design here at home. She had struggl'd and heav'd at a Reformation,

mation, ever since *Wicliff's* days, for about a 150 years together: her *Lollards* (as they were call'd) had all along *spoken*, *written*, and *dyed* for it: she could not nevertheless bring it to the birth 'till about this time, when the Eyes of all *Europe* began to be open'd: then it was that she push'd it forward, and threw off the Popes Yoke in concert with other Churches. Her proceedings were regular, and by the joint Authorities of the state Civil and Ecclesiastical. If Irregularities were done elsewhere, let 'em Answer for 'em, that did them. Whatever *Luther's* actions at that time might be, they concern us no more, than the Historians flourish about *Sultan Selim's* Conquests does his History of Hæresies: they were cotemporary indeed, and that's all; for there's no other dependence between them.

But neither is the *Reformation* in general at all blasted by this method. For let *Luther* be as bad as he will, yet the Doctrine of the Apostles, and the Primitive Church is, we hope, never the worse for his preaching it. He pretended to no new *Revelation*; had he done so 'twould have

have been requisite, perhaps, that he should have liv'd up to it: he only pointed out some *old Truths*, that had layn hid a great while; and detected some *Errors*, which in the course of time had, like ruit, overspread Christianity. Here have we nothing to do but to put our selves upon the search, whether these pretences of his to antiquity be true or false: for if they be true, 'tis a confest point that they must be listen'd to, whoever he be that makes them. *Idolatry* is agreed to be a sin on all sides: should a few therefore object it to the Church of *Rome*, as an hindrance of his Conversion, she were bound to reform even on this admonition. But where a new Religion is reveal'd, the case, I confess, is otherwise: there the doctrine it self is in dispute whether true or false; all aids therefore are to be call'd in, that may any ways assist us in the discovery; and the Lives of the Revealers may be justly enough set over against the Revelation, to find whether they agree. Thus should that *bad man* L<sup>r</sup>. have been the *first discoverer* of Errors in the Church, yet his *badness* would in no wise have

prejudic'd his *discovery*. But what now if he were *one of the latest* protestors against Popery? and even then, but *one among many*, that set about the same work? The objection at this rate lessens very much, and comes to no more than this, that amongst a *Cloud of Witnesses*, there was *One* of no very good reputation. And that this is the case, has been prov'd upon them to a demonstration a hundred times over. *Melchior Adams* has afforded us the Lives of no less than 22 *Divines*, who immediately before, and together with *Luther* promoted all the same design. The Errors of the Church of *Rome* were never possess'd quietly: we have told them when they came in, and who they were that rose up against them, in every age, from the 6th Century down to the 16th. If any man requires this Catalogue, he may find it in *White's True way to the Church* compleatly and learnedly set down: not to mention *Field*, *Usher*, *Catalogus Testium Veritatis*, and twenty more. *Goldastus's three Volumes suffici-*

ently explain the sense of all ages in this point; and *Orthuinus Gratius's Collection of Complaints* lets us know what peoples thoughts were, when *Luther* appear'd. He did not awaken the world with new surprizing notions; for then they would have suspended their Judgments a while: whereas thousands follow'd his standard, as soon as ever it was advanc'd; and *Melitz* the Apostolick Commissary own'd that in 1518 (a year after L. first preach'd) he found in his journey from *Rome* to *Saxony* three on *Luther's* side to one that stood for the *Pope*. *Luther* then was one of the latest asserters of truth, and even at that time not single: *Oecolampadius*, *Zuinglius*, *Carlstad*, and many more were even as early as he: though 'tis true he signaliz'd himself above the rest by a peculiar bravery of mind, and an undauntedness in the cause of God, that was little less than miraculous. He laboured more than them all, yet still they were his *Fellow-Labourers in the Gospel*: and therefore, were the Reformation to be run

<sup>a</sup> Vide Sleid. ad Ann.

down by *Life-writing*, yet to think this task is perform'd by considering the actions of L. alone, when there were so many both *before* and *with* him that embark'd in the same cause, is the most senseless thing imaginable.

But further, when *the Considerer* has manag'd this argument to the best advantage, he would do well to *consider* too, how it returns upon him. *Luther*, even in the colours he has laid upon him, does not look half so ill as some *Popes* of theirs who were his Contemporaries. *Julius* was of a cruel restless temper, and sacrific'd the peace of all *Italy* to his ambition. *Leo the 10th.* is deservedly infamous for his base prostitution of *Indulgences*. *Paul the 3d.* kept a *Whore* openly, and own'd it; and advanc'd a Bastard of his to the Principality of *Parma* and *Piacenza*. Would we ascend higher to the known names of *Hildebrand*, *Innocent*, *Boniface*, and the rest of those lewd Popes, whom *Bellarmin confesses to have gone in a long Train to the Devil*, we should quickly find how advantageous *Luther's* character would appear: and what reason *Castilio's Painter*

Painter had to reply upon the *Cardinal*, who blam'd him for putting a little too much colour into St. *Peter* and *Paul's* faces, that 'twas true indeed, in their Life time they were pale mortify'd men, but that since they were grown ruddy, by blushing at the sins of their Successors. Now let any man tell me, why *manners* are not (as much, nay) more requisite to an *Infallible Guide*, than a *fallible Reformer*? since in the one, we accept the Doctrine merely for the man's sake, in the other the man for his Doctrine's sake: especially since the first involves always the latter's character; for Infallibility carrys along with it the perpetual power of reforming Abuses. This holds good then against such as place the last appeal in the *Pope*: those who take refuge in a *multitude*, have an *Arrian Council* to Answer for; a Council, where the lives of the Fathers were as unorthodox as their *Principles*; and this in a much higher degree than is pretended upon *Luther*, if *Athanasius's* word may be set over against the *Considerers*.

The

The method then of the Pamphlet is every ways insufficient, and let the *Spirit of Martin Luther* be as *Evil* as 'tis suppos'd to be, yet the proof of this would not blast any one single truth of that Religion he profess'd. But to take off all seeming objections, and stop the mouths of the most unreasonable Gain-sayers, I have examin'd even this little pretence too; and find, upon a faithful enquiry, that *Luthers Life* was led up to those Doctrines he preach'd, and his Death was the death of the Righteous. Were I not confin'd by the character of an Answer merely to wipe off the Aspersions that are brought, I could swell this book to twice the bulk by setting out that best side of L. which our Author, in the Picture he has given us of him, has, contrary to the method of Painters, thrown into shade, that he might place a suppos'd deformity or two the more in view. He was a Man certainly of high endowments of mind, and great Virtues: he had a vast understanding, which rais'd him up to a pitch of learning unknown to the age he liv'd in: his know-

knowledge in scriptures was admirable; his Elocution manly, and his way of reasoning with all the subtlety that those honest plain truths, he delivered, would bear: His thoughts were bent always on great designs, and he had a resolution fitted to go through with them: The assurance of his mind was not to be shook, or surpriz'd; and that ~~appnoice~~ of his (for I know not what else to call it) before the Dyet at *Worms*, was such as might have become the days of the Apostles. His Life was holy, and, when he had leisure for retirements, severe: his virtues active chiefly, and homilitical, not those lazy sullen ones of the Cloyster. He had no ambition but in the service of God: for other things, neither his enjoyment, nor wishes ever went higher than the bare conveniencies of living. He was of a temper particularly averse to covetousness, or any base sin: and charitable even to a fault, without respect to his own occasions. If among this *Crowd of Virtues* a failing crept in, we must remember that an Apostle himself has not been *irreprovable*: If in the *Body* of his Doctrine

time one Flaw is to be seen; yet the greatest Lights of the Church, and in the purest times of it, were, we know, not exact in all their Opinions. Upon the whole, we have certainly great reason to break out in the phrase of the Prophet, and say, *How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him that bringeth glad tidings!*



**F I N I S.**

